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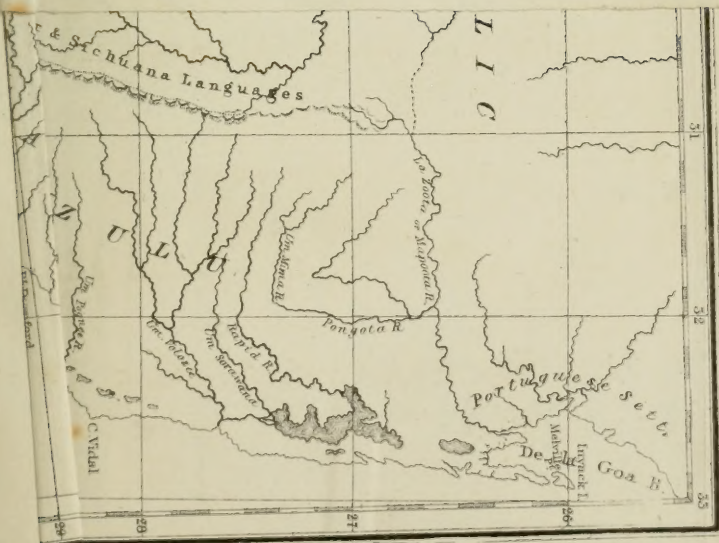


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THE
STORY OF MY MISSION
IN
SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.



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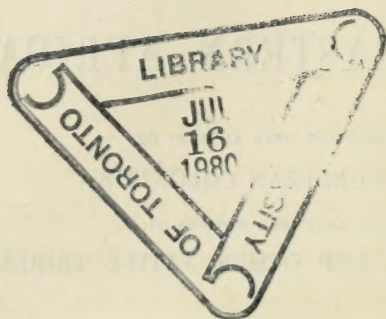
COMPRISING SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE EUROPEAN COLONISTS;
WITH EXTENDED NOTICES OF
THE KAFFIR AND OTHER NATIVE TRIBES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY
WILLIAM SHAW, 1798-1872

LATE WESLEYAN GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT IN THAT COUNTRY.

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THIS book would not have been published, if I had not become ashamed of disregarding the often-repeated and urgent requests of numerous friends, both Laymen and Ministers, that I would furnish to the public some account of the proceedings of the Wesleyan Mission in South-Eastern Africa. The reader, and I hope the reviewer, will kindly observe, that it is not put forth as a book of travels, nor as the medium of imparting information respecting the various objects of interest which arrest the attention of the most careless observer in that extensive region. My remarks will be found to refer chiefly—almost exclusively—to MAN; in his great varieties of race, character, and occupation, as he is now found on that portion of the African Continent.

It is hoped that my statements concerning the British Colonists, and the singular customs and habits of the Native Tribes, will not be found destitute of general interest. And I feel assured

that my readers will sympathize with my earnest desire to see all the various classes of men blessed with the sanctifying and soul-saving influences of our holy religion. Nothing less than the general diffusion of genuine Christianity among the diversified peoples of Southern Africa will insure their dwelling together in peace and prosperity, under the beneficent reign of our most gracious QUEEN. It is gratifying to learn that the recent visit of PRINCE ALFRED has presented His Royal Highness with an opportunity of witnessing the loyalty of all classes of the people; while his inspection of some of our Missionary Institutions has afforded him ocular demonstration of the benefits conferred by Christianity on the Native African races. To extend these benefits yet more widely, is the aim of many zealous Christian Missionaries of various Churches and Denominations.

The following Narrative is to some extent an Autobiography, containing an account of my personal labours in this great work. An active and busy life in a country like Southern Africa affords few opportunities for cultivating a correct or

classical style. If I have succeeded in securing perspicuity, it is all that I have aimed at, and considerate persons will not expect more from me. I am, however, anxious that the reader should remember that "*Ego*" does not necessarily imply an egotistic spirit in the writer. I have written my "Story" in this form, because it appeared to me the most natural and suitable, seeing that the larger portion of the volume refers to events in which I was more or less personally concerned.

STANHOPE STREET CHAPEL, LIVERPOOL,

September 28th, 1860.

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PART I.

MISSION AMONG THE BRITISH
SETTLERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

PROPOSED British Settlement—Parliamentary Grant—Flattering Prospects—Settlers placed on a disturbed Border—Entitled to Protection—Number of Emigrants in 1820—Scheme of Settlement—Chaplains or Ministers—My Connexion with a Party of one hundred Families—Appointment by Wesleyan Missionary Committee—Hurried away to London—Painful Parting—Ordination Service—Unexpected Detention—Sermon by Rev. Joseph Benson—Counsels of Rev. Jabez Bunting and other eminent Ministers—Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P.—Lieutenant Vicars—Settlers embarked—Visits of Ministers on Board—Rev. Mr. Ivimey—Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe's Sermon—My Embarcation—Accommodations in an Emigrant Ship—Rev. Richard Watson on the probable Results of my Mission and the proposed Settlement—The late Rev. Barnabas Shaw—Heave Anchor and set Sail.

DURING the Session of the Imperial Parliament in the year 1819, a proposal was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, afterwards Lord Bexley, to establish an English Settlement on a large tract of country, which formed the Eastern boundary of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The object of the Government in requesting the Legislature to vote

£50,000, in aid of this project, appears to have been twofold. There was much distress, and consequent discontent, prevailing at the time, in the manufacturing and commercial communities of the country; and it was hoped that to draft off a considerable body of the people would afford some relief, in various neighbourhoods; while, on the other hand, the establishment of a British Settlement, on the immediate border of the Kaffir country, would provide some means of defence and security to the other portions of the Cape Colony, which had for many years been partially occupied by a sparse population. There had been several destructive incursions made by the Kaffir tribes, on the border Dutch Colonists, who were unable to retain possession of the Eastern Districts beyond Algoa Bay, until the British Government had employed a military force to clear the country of the intruding tribes, and establish its authority as far as the Fish River, which had been the recognised boundary of the Colony since the year 1782.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, only spoke in Parliament of the very fine prospects which were before such fortunate individuals as might be included in the number of those who were to be aided by Government in removing to this new land of promise. Such glowing pictures were drawn in several publications which followed the Government proposal, of the fertility of the country, and the healthy character of its climate, that it is not surprising that applications were speedily made at the Colonial Office by individuals and parties representing an aggregate population of more than ninety thousand souls. The case might have been otherwise, had they been told that they were to form a sort of barrier to the rest of the Cape Colony, and thus

to take all risk and hazard arising from the occasional fierce incursions of the Kaffir tribes. But little or nothing was suffered to transpire on this point; and it was not till after the settlers had been some time in Africa that they clearly comprehended that, as the inhabitants of a disturbed border, they were expected to maintain their position, and thereby shield the rest of the Colony. When they subsequently made this discovery, it was impossible for them to retire from the country, if they had desired to do so; but they naturally and justly claimed from the Home Government such assistance, in the way of military protection, as circumstances have shown to be requisite, to enable them to retain possession of their hard-earned property.

This book is not intended to give more than an outline of the history of the now prosperous English Settlement; but as the Wesleyan Mission in South-Eastern Africa took its rise in connexion therewith, I have deemed it desirable to mention, at the beginning, that the original British settlers of the Eastern Province of the Cape were no intruders upon the territory of the Kaffirs, nor were they prompted by their own cupidity to place themselves on the border; but the lands and their several locations were selected for them and assigned to them by the Government, in the pursuit of its own measures. Consequently, as they have ever been loyal and peaceable, they claim as British subjects the continued protection of the Queen's Government, as far as circumstances may render requisite. And it is but fair to say that, however faulty the border policy of the Cape Colony may have been at various periods, since the establishment of this Settlement, yet the Home Government has not failed to recognise the justice of

the claim made by the British settlers to protection ; for it has always maintained a military force, however (at times) inadequate for that purpose.

From the large list of applicants, the authorities of the Colonial Office made a selection, and ultimately a population of about four thousand were conveyed, in twenty-six vessels, to Algoa Bay. The general arrangement adopted by the Government was to send the settlers in parties of ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred families, each party being under a head, or representative, who transacted its business with the Government both in England and the Colony ; and the people comprising these several parties were located in distinct settlements.

It will ever stand recorded, to the honour of the British Government of 1819, that in framing the regulations for emigration to Southern Africa, a suitable provision was made for the establishment and perpetuation of Christian institutions among the settlers. The plan of the Government showed a just concern for the religious interests of the people, and a liberal consideration for the diversity of their religious opinions. Hence it was provided, that in cases when there were one hundred families who combined to form one settlement, they should be at liberty to choose a Minister of whatever denomination they might prefer ; and if the person selected was approved by the Government, an annual payment from the Colonial Treasury should be made towards his support. A number of Wesleyan families, chiefly resident in London, resolved to avail themselves of this opportunity to emigrate to Southern Africa. They were joined by some Episcopalians, Baptists, and others, and thus made up rather more than the required

number of one hundred men, exclusive of their wives and families. The majority being either members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, or adherents of that religious community, it was resolved to take with them a Wesleyan Minister, and avail themselves of the offered aid of the Government towards his support. They therefore advertised for a Minister to accompany them. As I had previously offered myself to the Wesleyan Missionary Society for foreign service, and had passed the usual ordeals required by the Wesleyan body before any one can be admitted into its Ministry, I entered into correspondence with the manager of the affairs of this emigrant party, and ultimately offered to accompany them, provided they would consent to receive me in the capacity of a Wesleyan Missionary, appointed by, and in connexion with, the Missionary Committee and Methodist Conference in England. They were well pleased to consent to this arrangement, and the Missionary Committee, after a personal examination in their usual manner, resolved to send me forth as one of their duly accredited Missionaries, but in the special capacity of Chaplain, or Minister, to this party of British settlers about to sail to Southern Africa.

This resolution was not adopted until after an animated discussion; some influential Ministers regarding the proposal as scarcely within the range of their duty as a Missionary Committee. It was thought by some, that to send a young and inexperienced Missionary with a body of British settlers going to a new and untried country, would entail no small amount of trouble and disappointment; while it was feared that the arrangement with the Government might lead to some entanglements which would prove embarrassing in conducting

the Mission. Several families of the Methodist emigrants, however, were members of the congregation of the Great Queen Street Chapel, where the late Rev. George Morley was at that time the Superintendent Minister. This eminently sagacious Minister felt greatly interested for their spiritual welfare, and regarded the appointment of a Wesleyan Missionary to South-Eastern Africa as promising important results in the extension of Christianity on that portion of the Continent. He therefore strongly advocated the proposed arrangement; and his views being supported by other members, the Committee at length resolved to appoint me to go on this new enterprise.

Having returned from London after my examination and appointment, I began to prepare for the departure of myself and family. But a letter from the late Rev. Joseph Taylor, Resident Secretary at the Mission House, Hatton Garden, hurried us away. He stated that it was requisite we should immediately go to London, as the vessel in which we were to sail would be ready in a few days. On Sunday, November 21st, 1819, I preached a parting sermon, to a crowded congregation, in the old Methodist Chapel, at Long Sutton, Lincolnshire; and our numerous friends gave us many tokens of their kind regards and good wishes. It would not interest the general reader to detail particulars of our most affecting parting with our near relatives and friends. Many tears were shed, and many kind words of sincere love and gratitude were interchanged. Our greatest trouble, however, was, that the only condition on which the aged Mrs. Maw would consent to part with her daughter was, that we should leave our first-born child, then an infant, with her and his aunt; so that if we "perished

in the sea, or in the deserts of Africa," they might at least have this relic of a lost family remaining, to whom they might show kindness and love for our sake. We were induced from various considerations, but mainly from deep sympathy for our aged mother's feelings, to comply with her request, although this formed the most painful portion of all our parting experience.

We finally took leave of my aged father, and other friends, at Wisbeach, on the evening of November 24th; and, after travelling all night in the stage-coach, arrived safely in London next morning, when we proceeded at once to the house of the Rev. George Morley, from whom and his kind-hearted and excellent wife we received the most affectionate and considerate attentions during our residence in London.

I had only arrived in time for my Ordination, which had been fixed to be held that very evening, November 25th, 1819, in St. George's Chapel in the East, together with that of the Rev. Titus Close, a Missionary, just about to proceed to Madras. This Ordination Service had an unusual interest attached to it, as a considerable number of the intended settlers, with their friends, from various parts of London, attended to witness my dedication to the office of the Ministry for their future benefit. The Ministers engaged in the service were, the Rev. Messrs. Charles Atmore, Samuel Taylor, George Morley, Joseph Taylor, and Richard Watson. The Rev. G. Morley addressed the people, specially referring to those about to emigrate; and the Rev. R. Watson delivered the charge to the two young Ministers. It was a solemn service. I had never witnessed a Wesleyan Ordination, and scarcely knew what was expected from me on the occasion. When called upon, however, I spake in the sim-

plicity of my heart, reciting an outline of the circumstances connected with my early conversion to God, and the reasons which induced me to believe that I was moved by the Holy Ghost "to take upon me the office, duties, and responsibilities of a Christian Missionary."

The Government functionaries who had the management of the embarkation of the settlers, made an unexpected alteration in the arrangements, and the party to which I was attached was not to sail in the vessel originally designed. This occasioned some delay, and meantime a severe frost set in, by which the Thames was frozen over, and we were consequently detained in London till February, 1820. Although this was very trying to many of the people, and a serious injury to all those whose finances were limited; yet to me it afforded considerable advantage, inasmuch as it gave me an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with some of the leading Methodist Ministers at that time in London, and of hearing sermons preached by the Rev. Joseph Benson, Dr. Adam Clarke, the Rev. Jabez Bunting, the Rev. R. Watson, and others. At that period, alas! there was no Theological Institution, in which Candidates for our Ministry and Missionary work could secure a preparatory training; and, consequently, I did not enjoy the inestimable benefit which, by the wiser arrangement of subsequent date, has been conferred on the gifted rising race of our Ministers. It was, however, some compensation for this disadvantage, that for a season I had opportunities of studying some of the best pulpit models among the Wesleyan body of that period, and of receiving many private advices, as to my reading and general deportment, from men who were not only competent to afford

me this assistance, but generously took the trouble to do so.

The last time I was privileged to hear the Rev. Joseph Benson preach, was on a Sunday in the month of January, 1820. He had taken an appointment for the forenoon and evening of that day at the Lambeth Chapel: being, however, in very advanced age and rapidly declining health, he had requested the Rev. Joseph Taylor, the Resident Secretary at the Mission House, to send one of the young Preachers connected with the Mission Department to assist him, should he find it requisite to avail himself of such help. I was fixed upon for this duty, and under Mr. Taylor's directions proceeded to the Lambeth Chapel, where I arrived some time before the service was to begin, in order to be at Mr. Benson's disposal. After this venerable man of God entered the vestry, he said to me, "Are you the young man sent from the Mission House to help me?" "Yes, Sir; but I trust you feel yourself able to preach. I would much rather sit and hear you, than stand before the congregation of this Chapel to preach for you." He smiled, and said, "Well, I mean to preach this morning; and before I leave the pulpit I shall decide whether it will be necessary for you to preach for me in the evening or not." Very much relieved in my mind as to the forenoon service, I entered the Chapel, and, after the usual devotional services, Mr. Benson announced for his text Romans xv. 4. After a clear exposition of the passage, such as might have been expected from this able Commentator on the Holy Scriptures, he gradually warmed with his theme, and dwelt on the authority, fulness, and sufficiency of the Word of God, together with its

hope-inspiring and soul-comforting truths, in such a manner as to rivet the attention of a large congregation for nearly an hour. I can never forget the earnestness and energy of his manner: his words flowed fluently, and yet it seemed to me that he felt language to be inadequate to utter all his great conceptions, and to express all his intense anxiety that every hearer might receive the benefit. In fact, this noble pulpit effort quite exhausted his feeble frame, and he announced that he would not be able to preach in the evening; but with a view of lessening in some degree the disappointment to the congregation, and at the same time most kindly striving to secure for me an attendance at the evening service, he informed them that "Mr. Shaw, who was going out as Missionary to the English settlers about to embark for South Africa, would occupy the pulpit in his place." In his concluding prayer he offered most fervent supplications for me and the settlers, that God would have us in His holy keeping, and bless us, and make us a blessing. The responses of some in the congregation, with other unmistakeable symptoms, showed that the sympathies of the people were drawn forth by the petitions of the Minister. To me it was a season of deep solemnity. I called it to remembrance to my great comfort on many occasions afterwards, especially in times of unusual difficulty. I ever regarded it as a great privilege to have had the blended prayers of such a man and such a congregation specially offered to God on my behalf, and on behalf of the great work to which I had been already "set apart by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." Surely the "effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

To the eminently wise and godly counsels of the Rev. George Morley and Rev. J. Bunting, (afterwards the venerable Dr. Bunting,) I am especially indebted. The remembrance of their advices in subsequent years often enabled me to steer a steady course, when I should otherwise, in all probability, have missed my way without a pilot, in an unknown ocean, abounding with dangers seen and unseen. No doubt, on the review, my first grateful homage and gratitude are due to Him "whose I am, and whom I serve," and "from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and just works, do proceed;" yet I cannot overlook, in this recital, my deep obligations to those who were the instruments in His hand of rendering me (and may I not say the Mission through me?) such invaluable service.

Among the pleasing reminiscences of my sojourn in London is my introduction to the late Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P. He was at that time one of the General Treasurers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society; and, being in the habit of attending the Great Queen Street Chapel, he knew several of the settlers who were going out with me, and was much interested in their welfare. Besides showing me much personal kindness, he also gave me some most valuable advices, which I found of great service when in subsequent years I was obliged by circumstances to enter into frequent correspondence with Government officials. At a Missionary Meeting held in Great Queen Street Chapel on the 27th of January, 1820, Mr. Butterworth occupied the chair, and on that occasion he introduced me to Lieutenant Vicars, father of the late Captain Hedley Vicars, whose most interesting and edifying Memoir has recently been so extensively read. This gentleman was at that time

on a visit to Mr. Butterworth, in London. He had been aroused to earnestness and decision in religion under the ministry of one of our Missionaries in Newfoundland; and I well remember the effect produced by his simple but truly Christian address in favour of Methodist Missions.

Most of the settlers with whom I was connected embarked early in January, at Deptford, on board the ships "Aurora" and "Brilliant," which were to convey the party to Algoa Bay: and I made frequent visits to preach to them on board. It was gratifying to see the kind pastoral feeling which was displayed towards them by some of the London Ministers. The Rev. George Morley, Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, and other Wesleyan Ministers visited them and preached to them, offering them both advice and consolation suited to their circumstances; and as several of the Baptist families belonged to the Eagle Street Chapel, the late Rev. W. Ivimey, the well-known Minister of that place of worship, also took an affectionate leave of them, preaching a most appropriate discourse on the occasion. The text selected by the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, when he preached on the deck of the "Aurora," with a numerous company of the settlers before him, was, "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing." (Gen. xii. 1, 2.) The short discourse, delivered in his inimitably quiet and placid manner, by this saintly Minister, produced a deep impression. Much of this was no doubt due to the strikingly appropriate text, and the easy style in which it was made to furnish lessons suited to the circumstances of the people; but he was a

Minister greatly beloved, and there was ever much unction in his discourses. Even then he was venerable in appearance, although he did not enter into the heavenly rest till thirty-seven years afterwards, having died on the 14th of May, 1856, at the patriarchal age of ninety-four years.

Early in February, I and my wife embarked with our infant child, and took possession of the small berth that was allotted to us. In those days the best modes of fitting up emigrant ships had not been devised; and although much attention had been given by the Government officials at Deptford to make all things as convenient as possible, yet we were, perhaps unavoidably, much crowded. The Missionary Committee would have made a private arrangement with the master of the vessel, to provide for us on the passage; but we declined this, on the principle that, as we were going with the settlers, we would prefer, during the voyage, to fare just as they would have to do. Although this resolution cost us some severe privations while on the voyage,—seeing that settlers in emigrant ships were not at that period so well provided for as in these days,—yet we never regretted that we had adopted it, as it showed the people that we meant to identify ourselves with them; and by this means also the whole passage-money, which the Society would otherwise have had to pay, was saved. Having embarked, and endeavoured to make our berth as comfortable as possible, we then awaited the day when the anchor was to be heaved, and we should proceed to our far distant destination.

The views entertained by thoughtful persons, at this period, of the Mission on which I was going, will be best illustrated by the following remarks, written by the late

Rev. Richard Watson, about the middle of the month of January, and published in the "Missionary Notices" for February, 1820 :—

"Mr. and Mrs. W. Shaw are only waiting the breaking up of the ice in the river, to proceed with the colonists who are to settle not far from Algoa Bay. The whole number of settlers from different parts, now on their voyage, or about to proceed to this settlement, is probably more than three thousand. The introduction of so great a number of professed Christians, comprising many who we trust are really so, and who will have the ordinances of religion immediately established among them, into a heathen land, we cannot but consider as one of those circumstances which Providence in the present day is so obviously over-ruling, for the purpose of extending the kingdom of Christ in the world. The Colony will be immediately in the neighbourhood of the Caffres, whose wild habits, if these colonists conduct themselves with justice and kindness in their intercourse with them, will be rapidly ameliorated. The spectacle of civilized life, and the benefits arising from industry and cultivation, at the very door of these tribes, will give encouragement to those of their Chiefs who have been best disposed to change the habits of their people, to renew the attempt; and the zeal of many of the colonists, we doubt not, will induce them to embrace every opportunity to communicate to such of the natives as come within their reach, the knowledge of the Gospel. It is a very hopeful circumstance, connected with the probable extension which may be given to Christianity by the establishment of these Colonies, that many of the persons going out are not only of a religious character, but in this country have been members of Missionary

Societies, and accustomed to hear stated from the pulpit, and in public meetings, the obligations of Christians to promote the conversion of the Heathen. With these views and impressions many of them will go out; and the Colonies, as they rise, will furnish both means and instruments for taking their proper share in this great work. Colonies in former times have too frequently commenced with a contempt for the savage tribes in whose neighbourhood they have been settled, which has led not merely to the neglect of their instruction, but to acts of injury and violence. We trust that sentiments of love and pity for the Heathen are felt by many of the colonists now going to South Africa; that they will be taught to their children, and that from their settlements the light and influence of Christianity may spread to many of the tribes who lie upon their borders. Mr. W. Shaw has special instructions to avail himself of every opportunity which may offer for this purpose; and should favourable circumstances occur, the Mission in that part of South Africa will be reinforced. From the Namaqua country our accounts are very interesting. Mr. Shaw and Mr. Edwards are at Lilly Fountain; Mr. and Mrs. Archbell are gone to Reed Fontaine, a new settlement, about two days' journey distant from the former, where they have collected about one hundred natives; among whom, with the religion of Christ, the useful arts will be introduced. Mr. Shaw, now providentially restored from his indisposition, intended shortly to proceed beyond the Orange River, for the purpose of forming a third settlement, having been encouraged by a correspondence with Mr. Schmelen on the subject, and by conversation with Hottentots from that quarter. Mr. Shaw is also now hopeful as to the

probability of obtaining access for a Missionary to the Negro slaves of the Colony. The Committee, under all these circumstances, have resolved to appoint an additional Missionary for South Africa, who is to proceed to Namaqualand, that by his additional assistance Mr. Shaw may be able to proceed to the Orange River; or endeavour to effect an opening to the colonial slaves, and in any other way endeavour to extend the kingdom of God in this too long neglected part of the globe. Surely the time of the efficient visitation of the dark and degraded continent of Africa is come. The work commenced on the south and west will, if persevered in, and supported by the prayers and the liberalities of the Christian world, gradually spread northward and eastward, until 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God.'"

The observations contained in the above extract respecting the probable results, in a Missionary point of view, of the establishment of the proposed Colony on the border of Kaffraria, will be found to have been almost of a prophetic character. If the reader will accompany me through the pages of this book, I hope he will be satisfied that the pious settlers referred to really acted in the manner anticipated, and that the effect of this emigration has been a great extension of "the light and influence of Christianity" among the numerous heathen tribes of South Eastern Africa.

I have purposely included in the above extract from the "Missionary Notices," the portion which relates to the Mission in Namaqualand, because it affords me the opportunity of referring to the labours of the late Rev. Barnabas Shaw, a man whose praise is in all our Churches. He was the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in

Southern Africa, so far as the Cape of Good Hope and Namaqualand Districts are concerned. Of these Missions, in the year 1839, he published an interesting account in a volume entitled, "Memorials of Southern Africa." This will partly explain why I do not think it requisite or desirable to occupy space by a recital of the history of that branch of our extensive work in Southern Africa. That Mission continues justly to enjoy a fair share of the sympathies and support of the friends of the Society. My late beloved and honoured friend never visited the regions in which my providential lot was cast. Our spheres of labour were wide apart. It may serve to give some idea of the great extent of the region over which our Missions are scattered in South Africa, if I state that, at the time when our Stations were nearest to each other, Mr. Shaw and I were separated by a distance of not less than six hundred miles. I was thirteen years in Africa before we met; and we never enjoyed more than very brief intervals of personal intercourse. But during the whole period of my residence, either the business of the Missions, or the uninterrupted feelings of private friendship, caused us to keep up a constant correspondence.

The deeply interesting letters which Mr. Barnabas Shaw wrote from Namaqualand, and which were published in the "Missionary Notices," opened an entirely new field of usefulness to the view of the Methodist public. The circumstances which these letters detailed being at that time singular and strange, and being narrated in a simple yet graphic manner, directed the minds of many pious persons towards Southern Africa. Hence, not a few of the settlers who accompanied me professed to have had their attention turned to the Cape

Colony solely by Mr. Shaw's letters, from reading which, when they found it desirable for other reasons to emigrate, they were led to believe that in such a country they might have opportunities of aiding the cause of Missions, and extending the knowledge of Christ among the benighted African tribes; and I have great reason to believe that this consideration strongly influenced the minds of some of the settlers, when they resolved to embrace the opportunity afforded by the Government proposals for promoting emigration to Southern Africa. Hence, although the venerated Barnabas Shaw had no personal connexion with *Southeastern* Africa, or its Missions, and, indeed, never had an opportunity of visiting them; yet his labours and letters prepared the way for the religious enterprise on which, in the arrangements of Divine Providence, I and others of the British settlers were sent.

The Rev. Barnabas Shaw died in great peace and assured hope of eternal life, at his house in Rondebosch, near Cape Town, on the 21st of June, 1857, and was buried in the presence of a numerous assemblage of persons of various nations and tribes, including also European Ministers of several Christian denominations, all of whom were anxious to testify their great respect for the memory of one who had been known at the Cape, for more than forty-one years, as a man of blameless life, and a Missionary eminently earnest and successful in the propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen.

My readers will not regard this passing tribute to the virtues and labours of the founder of the Wesleyan Mission at the Cape of Good Hope, as an unbecoming or unsuitable interruption of my narra-

tive; but I now proceed with the story of my own Mission.

On Sunday forenoon, the 6th of February, 1820, I had read prayers and preached on the deck of the "Aurora." The settlers who were going out in this vessel and the "Brilliant"—which was lying alongside of her at Deptford—had all been some time embarked. There was therefore a full and rather large attendance at public worship. As soon as service was concluded, the pilot announced that, all being now ready, and wind and tide favourable, we should set sail immediately after dinner. Accordingly, about two o'clock, the anchor was weighed, and the "Aurora" moved off, and we soon began to float down the river. The day was clear and fine; and I well remember the people stood around me on deck, while I gave out Dr. Watts's cheerful and encouraging hymn from the seventeenth page of the Wesleyan Hymn Book. As we were passing the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, although tears were streaming down many cheeks at the time, they were singing in full chorus,—while many of the veteran tars of old England were looking at us with evident surprise and interest,—

"The God that rules on high,
That all the earth surveys,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And calms the roaring seas;
This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our Love;
He will send down His heavenly powers,
To carry us above."

It would be difficult to describe the various and conflicting emotions which were passing through the minds

of the large group of men, women, and children, that crowded the deck of the "Aurora" at this time. Many wept to think that they were leaving dear old England and the much-loved friends from whom they had just parted, without any prospect of returning to their native country. They were going to a land of which none of them had any knowledge whatever; but all rejoiced in a cheerful hope that at length, after many wearisome delays, they were on their way to a region in which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, they would be enabled to found new and happy homes for themselves and their children.

We came to an anchor in the evening, a little below Gravesend, where we were detained more than a week, waiting a favourable change in the wind; during which I went ashore, and had an opportunity of preaching in our chapel. We heaved anchor again on the 15th of February; and, after passing down the Channel, finally lost sight of our native shores.

CHAPTER II.

THE PASSAGE OUT, AND ARRIVAL.

GOOD Passage—Death on Board—Order of religious Services—A Man Overboard—Another—Anchor in Simon's Bay—Visit to Cape Town—Rev. E. Edwards—My first Sermon in Africa—Colonial Secretary—Religious Intolerance—Rev. J. M'Kenny—Arrival of British Settlers introduces Toleration—Legality of Marriages and Baptisms—Preaching at Simon's Town—Proceed on our Passage—Mr. Thomas Pringle—Safe Arrival in Algoa Bay—Prospect on Shore—Gloomy Forebodings—Difficult Landing—First Night ashore—Visit to Bethelsdorp—My first Sermon in the Eastern Province—First Funeral Service—Government Arrangements—Journey up the Country—African Wagon Travelling—Arrival at our Destination—Description of the Location—Settler's Tents—"Wattle and Daub" Houses—Reed House transformed into a Public Building—Used for various Purposes.

THE occurrences on board of ship during a passage of ten weeks from the Downs to the Cape, need not be recited in detail. We had a remarkably fine passage. The weather was generally most agreeable, with occasional variations of squalls and stiff breezes, producing the usual discomforts of a rolling vessel, which, in the case of a crowded emigrant ship, invariably occasions adventures both ludicrous and dangerous. Several children were born, and some died, on the passage. But of the adults only one was numbered among the dead,—a fine young married woman, who had embarked in bad health. She was a truly pious and devoted person, and had been connected with the Society at the Hinde Street Chapel, London. While I read the funeral service, and her remains were lowered in the usual manner over the gangway into the ocean, all felt that it was in "sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life," at that period when "the greedy sea shall its dead restore."

At the commencement, I established regular worship as follows:—on the Lord's day forenoon, we assembled on the deck of the vessel; the capstan was rigged out with flags, and constituted the pulpit, from whence I read the Liturgy, and preached; the people joining in singing the hymns in an edifying manner. In the evening I usually preached between decks. We had also domestic worship regularly, on the morning and evening of each day, reading the Scriptures, singing a hymn, and prayer, both in the cabin and also between decks, where the greater part of the settlers were accommodated. I attended each place alternately; and, in my absence from either, proper persons were appointed to conduct the worship. It was very rarely indeed these arrangements were interfered with; and they proved a great source of comfort to the people, and I have no doubt were the chief means of preserving the general good feeling and harmony which prevailed, with very slight exceptions, to the end of the passage. No fatal accidents occurred; but on two occasions a sailor fell overboard. In the first instance, the man happened to have a rope in his hand, to which he clung with amazing tenacity till relieved from his perilous situation, affording me a good illustration for a text, on which I subsequently preached: "Seeing then that we have a High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us *hold fast* our *profession*." If Christians would always "hold fast" their principles with as firm a grasp in every time of spiritual danger, as the poor sailor held on by the rope for his life, they might constantly sing,

"As far from danger as from fear,
While Love, Almighty Love,—is near."

The other man who fell overboard had no such means of support. He was left far behind in the wake of the vessel, before a boat could be lowered and reach him: he was just sinking below the water when he was secured with a boat-hook, and ultimately, to the no small joy of all on board, was safely brought again to the ship, although in an insensible state. After the usual stimulants were applied, he soon revived, and in two or three days was again fit for duty. It is a remarkable fact, and shows the great buoyancy of the water in the deep portions of the ocean, that this man had never learned to swim; but while he gratefully acknowledged the promptitude of his shipmates in going after him in a boat, yet he readily admitted that he had already given himself up as lost, and that his preservation was a remarkable instance of the gracious care of Divine Providence over him.

In the course of our passage we called at Madeira, but only remained a few hours there. We also saw the Peak of Teneriffe; and on the south of the Line, on the opposite side of the Atlantic, we passed near the Martin Vaz Rocks. We sighted the Cape of Good Hope on Monday the first of May, and during the whole of that day were employed in approaching and beating into False Bay: during the night we anchored in Simon's Bay. I did not fail to remember that on this day the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting was being held in London, and hoped that the prayers of thousands then ascending on behalf of Missionaries would be answered on us just entering our field of labour,—as also on all others,—in “showers of blessings.” I landed on the jetty at Simon's Town, on Tuesday morning the second of May, and on the next day proceeded to Cape Town.

It is unnecessary to describe the country between Simon's Town and Cape Town, which has often been done before. On my arrival at the Cape, I met the Rev. E. Edwards, who had just commenced preaching in this place, having, with the aid of some pious soldiers and others, fitted up a wine store as a temporary place of worship. I had the pleasure of commencing my public ministry in South Africa by preaching in this building on Thursday evening the fourth of May, to a small congregation of civilians and soldiers, on Acts xi. 23: "Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord."

While in Cape Town,—the acting Governor, Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, being away on the frontier,—I called on the Colonial Secretary, and requested information as to the channel through which I was to derive the promised means of support from the Government, after my arrival in the new Settlement. But the Secretary—who I afterwards learned was a Roman Catholic gentleman, and held this high office before the Relief Bill was passed—either knew nothing, or affected to know nothing, of my claim on the Government. He said, "All that can have been promised to you is *toleration*. You will be *permitted* to exercise your ministerial functions;" and that he represented as rather a concession to the peculiar circumstances under which the British settlers had come to the country. This induced me to show Colonel B. a letter written by Mr. Goulburn, at that time Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which the obligation of the Cape Government to "provide for" my "decent maintenance" was distinctly stated. The Secretary's tone towards me was now suddenly changed; and at

length he pleasantly bowed me out, saying that, on my arrival at my destination, I could address the Government on the subject.

When the Cape Colony capitulated to the British troops in the year 1806, it was stipulated that the Dutch Reformed Church should retain its pre-eminence and peculiar privileges; and as, by long standing regulations, no Ministers were permitted to exercise their functions in the Colony, among the white or so called Christian inhabitants, excepting those who were duly authorized by the authorities of the Dutch Church,—the English Governors of the Colony, with a strong desire to conciliate the Dutch inhabitants, interpreted the terms of capitulation so rigidly as to refuse permission to other Ministers to exercise their functions,—excepting as Missionaries among the black and coloured races. The Lutherans had, indeed, by special permission long before, established their form of worship in Cape Town; but this was probably only because many officers and soldiers of the army which had formerly served under the Dutch Government were Germans, and several influential resident families were also members of the Lutheran Church. The military and naval Chaplains of the English Church, with the Chaplain for the Governor and other English gentlemen of the civil service, could not be decently objected to; and as part of the British army consisted of some Scottish regiments, a Missionary of the London Missionary Society was tolerated in the capacity of the Scotch Presbyterian Minister.

When, however, the Rev. J. M'Kenny was appointed by the Methodist Conference to Cape Town in the year 1813, he was not permitted to discharge his ministerial duties, although he had been sent out at the earnest

solicitation of a large number of the soldiers connected with the British army then serving at the Cape. It was intended by the Missionary Committee that while he should preach to the soldiers, and such of the white inhabitants, English or Dutch, as might be willing to attend his ministry, he was also especially to turn his attention to the large slave population, who at that time greatly needed religious instruction, and were being rapidly proselyted by the resident native Mahommedan priests. But it seems that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities thought that the slaves had better become believers in the false Prophet, than that the prejudices of some of the adherents of the dominant Dutch Church should be shocked! Mr. M'Kenny, finding that he was not likely to obtain permission to preach, requested to be removed to Ceylon. This request was complied with; but the Methodist soldiers at the Cape reiterated their request for the services of a Pastor, and the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, not at any time easily intimidated by opposition, appointed the Rev. Barnabas Shaw his successor.

On his arrival the same objection to grant him leave to preach was urged by the Governor; but Mr. Shaw nevertheless very properly commenced religious services in a private house, which were attended by some of the soldiers, and when, under the promptings of a sense of duty, he afterwards proceeded on a Mission among the Namaquas in the interior, Mr. Edwards, who had been sent from England to aid him in the Mission, was subsequently induced, under Mr. Shaw's direction, in 1820, to take the step of fitting up a temporary place of worship, having previously ascertained, through some private friends, that, while he must expect no formal

permission by authority, yet his doing so would be winked at, as the preaching in a private room had already been for some time past.

The coming of the British settlers, however, caused a great change. It is due to the Tory Government of Lord Liverpool to say, that, without proclaiming any order in council, or in any other formal manner announcing that the freedom of religious worship was to be henceforth the right of all the inhabitants of the Colony, the liberal arrangement of Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, whereby aid was offered towards the support of a Minister for each party of one hundred settlers, without respect of religious denomination, showed that *practically* the question of religious toleration in the Colony of the Cape was settled. As I had long before received and put faith in the dictum of an eminent English lawyer, that "the Toleration Act travels with the British flag," I resolved to regard the matter in this point of view; and hence I never applied for any licence or permission from any functionary whatever, but at once proceeded to discharge all public duties wherever I met with any class of people willing to receive me in the capacity of a Minister. I preached, and celebrated the services for marriages, baptisms, and funerals, never allowing it to be supposed that I considered any man in a British Colony had any right to interfere with my religious liberty as a free-born Englishman.

On one occasion a gentleman high in office asked me by what "authority" I did these things; and I simply showed him my certificate of ordination, and of the usual oaths required by the Act of Toleration, which I had taken before the Lord Mayor of London. At

another time the acting Colonial Secretary intimated that the Government conceived I should confine my labours to the locality where the settlers resided for whom I was the recognised Minister ; but as I had no mind that the Government should assume the authority to direct my ministerial conduct, I quietly proceeded in my own way, without taking the slightest notice of this intimation ; and I heard no more about it.

After a while, however, an English Clergyman, who was subsequently appointed to Graham's Town, raised the question of the legality of the marriages and baptisms celebrated by Wesleyan Ministers ; and we were requested to refrain from performing these offices, pending a reference to Earl Bathurst, unless this ecclesiastic in each case granted permission on the personal application of the parties concerned ! But we refused to change our practice, till the case should be decided by proper authority against us ; and at length the Secretary for the Colonies intimated to the Governor that we were not to be interfered with. If there ever was any reasonable doubt about the legal validity of our marriages,—which I do not think there was, because we never married any couple without a previous licence from the local matrimonial court,—yet the question was finally set at rest by Her Majesty's order in council, regulating all marriages in the Colonies, and which legalized all our *de facto* marriages, on handing over duly attested registers to the Colonial Government.

On the 5th of May, Mr. Edwards, from whom I had received the most affectionate attentions, rode with me on horseback from Cape Town to Simon's Town, and, going on board, preached to the people in the evening. On Sunday, the 7th, after conducting Divine worship on deck

as usual, and trying to instruct and encourage the people by preaching on the words, "A good hope," I went ashore, and preached in a private dwelling-house, where a few soldiers were in the habit of assembling for prayer. A small congregation of about thirty persons were present, and appeared to enjoy the opportunity. A message was subsequently sent to me on board the "Aurora" by the resident Clergyman, stating that I had no right to hold religious services in Simon's Town; and if I presumed to do so again, it was hinted that certain disagreeable consequences to myself would inevitably follow. Had we been detained longer in the Bay, there is little doubt but that I should have braved this petty threat, and again preached to the poor people, who were anxious to hear the Gospel. On the 10th, however, we weighed anchor once more, and proceeded in company with the "Brilliant," which had the remainder of our party on board, besides some Scottish families under Mr. Pringle. This amiable and Christian gentleman afterwards became Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in England, and is well known as a lyrical poet of first-rate gifts, whose poetical compositions have served to render familiar to English readers many of the localities and frequently recurring scenes of Southern Africa.

The Coast was not at that time very well known to our skippers; but the various vessels, under the protection of Divine Providence, all arrived safely, and we anchored in Algoa Bay on Monday, the 15th of May; being exactly three months from the day on which we left Gravesend. It was night when we reached the anchorage; and our first engagement, after the noise and confusion consequent on casting anchor, and making the ship snug and trim, was to assemble

between the decks, and hold a meeting to offer solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for all the mercies of our passage out, and to implore His blessing on our entrance into the country now before us.

Next morning, as soon as the day dawned, most of the people came on deck to view the land of their future residence. As the sun rose over the wide expanse of ocean towards the east, and gilded with his light the hills and shores of the Bay towards the west and north, a gloom gradually spread itself over the countenances of the people. As far as the eye could sweep, from the south-west to the north-east, the margin of the sea appeared to be one continued range of low white sand hills: wherever any breach in these hills afforded a peep into the country immediately behind this fringe of sand, the ground seemed sterile, and the bushes stunted. Immediately above the landing-place, the land rose abruptly into hills of considerable elevation, which had a craggy and stony appearance, and were relieved by very little verdure. Two or three whitewashed and thatched cottages, and Fort Frederick, a small fortification crowning the height, and by its few cannon commanding the anchorage, were all that arrested the eye in the first view of Algoa Bay; with the exception of the tents of the British settlers, many of whom had already disembarked, and formed a camp half a mile to the right of the landing-place. The scene was at once dull and disappointing. It produced a very discouraging effect on the minds of the people, not a few of whom began to contrast this waste wilderness with the beautiful shores of Old England, and to express fears that they had foolishly allowed themselves to be lured away by false representations, to a country

which seemed to offer no promise of reward to its cultivators. However, the needful preparations for landing, and the anxiety to be relieved from the discomforts and monotony of their long confinement on board of ship, changed the current of their thoughts, and thereby afforded some relief to their gloomy forebodings.

The landing was not unaccompanied by difficulty or danger; but the Government had considerably sent round from the Cape one of His Majesty's frigates, and its commander took charge of the debarcation of the settlers. A very heavy surf generally breaks on the shore of this bay; hence boats of the ordinary description can rarely land their passengers, but flat-bottomed boats, of a peculiar construction, and worked by warps, receive the passengers on the outside of the surf, who are thus conveyed safely *over*, or, as sometimes happens, *through*, the successive surf rollers. When the boat is warped as far as the depth of the water will allow, the passengers, watching the opportunity of a receding wave, jump out, or are carried out on the shoulders of men, to the sandy beach beyond the reach of the sea. I believe this is a different method to that pursued in a similar case at Madras; but it is, probably, less dangerous. At all events, under the blessing of Divine Providence, such was the care of the English sailors and Scottish soldiers who aided in the working of the boats, that no serious accident occurred, in the landing of the whole body of the settlers, with their wives and children, and large amount of goods of various descriptions. It is surprising that, although there has been a good deal of improvement in the construction of these surf boats, and the manner of working them, yet the above continued to be the mode in which passengers

and goods were usually landed, up to the time of my departure from the country in 1856.

As several vessels had arrived before us, we had to await our turn; and, consequently, the whole party were not landed till some days had elapsed. In the interval I went on shore; and, after rambling with others some hours in a most unsatisfactory inspection of the neighbourhood, I was unable to get on board again in the evening, and was obliged to take up my quarters in a miserable place used as a canteen or liquor shop. Fearing to lie down on the earthen floor, I crept into the space between two large barrels, the broader parts of which were in juxtaposition, and thus afforded me a rude sort of couch, on which I essayed to take my first night's rest in this part of Africa,—obtaining as much sleep as my uncomfortable bedstead, and the noisy carousals of a drinking party at the other end of the wretched building, would allow.

By the 25th of May, the whole of our party were safely landed, and encamped with the other settlers, awaiting the arrival of wagons, which were to convey them to the District of Albany, where the Settlements were to be established, at a distance from Algoa Bay of from eighty to one hundred and twenty miles. While here, having obtained a Hottentot guide, I went on a visit to Bethelsdorp, and received a most kind and Christian-like welcome from the Rev. George Barker. This Station was founded by the Rev. Dr. Vanderkemp, one of the first Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa. The locality is very sterile, and unsuited to the purposes of a flourishing institution. At the time when I first visited the place, the Hottentot population appeared to have made but very little

progress in the formation of their buildings, or in the appliances and comforts of the social state. It must, however, be recollected that I had very recently left England; and the contrast between the appearance and dwellings of its inhabitants, and those of the natives of Africa, must always strike the new comer as being greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. I had not, at this time, seen any of the native tribes in their wild and untutored state. Subsequently, I had abundant opportunities of forming an acquaintance with their condition before they had received any advantage from missionary training; and although the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp were certainly, at the period referred to, in a social state very far below that in which many of them may now be found on various Mission Stations and in other parts of the Colony, yet I am satisfied that even when I first saw them, they had been already greatly elevated above the very degraded condition in which the Missionaries first met them. With regard to their attendance on religious ordinances, it appeared to be most satisfactory. Not a few, in the opinion of Mr. Barker, were truly devoted Christians; and a meeting held in the evening, for reading the Scriptures and prayer, in a substantially built and commodious church, was numerously attended. Their harmonious singing, and the apparently earnest and devout manner in which they engaged in the service, was at once refreshing and encouraging to my mind. This Station is distant about eight miles from Port Elizabeth, and will ever be memorable as the foundation of that very extensive Mission of the London Society, in all parts of the Cape Colony, which has issued in the general spread of Christianity and education amongst a very large portion

of the Hottentots and other coloured people within its limits; besides leading to the establishment of the less numerous, but very important, Missions more recently commenced by the same Society among the nations beyond the colonial boundaries.

On Sunday the 28th of May, I preached my first sermon in what is now called the Eastern Province of the Colony. I took my stand close to some pyramidical stones which in a singular manner rose above the surface of the ground to a considerable height, and stood close to the road within a short distance of the settlers' camp. It is remarkable that the Wesleyan Chapel now stands in the main street of Port Elizabeth very near the spot, which is well remembered, although the stones have long since been removed. With reference to God's goodness to us thus far, I preached from "Ebenezer," the Stone of Help: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." (1 Sam. vii. 12.) In the afternoon I preached again on the same spot, endeavouring to improve the melancholy event of the death of one of the settlers who came out in the "Brilliant." He had been a Local Preacher in London, and died after his arrival in port; and I was thus called upon immediately to perform the sad office of reading the funeral service over one of my charge. He was interred in the burial-ground, which had already been selected for the interment of certain sailors, soldiers, and others who had been drowned, or had died at this place. It has become the principal burial-ground of the town. A considerable number of the settlers attended these services. I preached twice during the week; and on the following Sunday a part of the commissariat store was prepared for Divine service, and I conducted Divine worship therein. There

was a considerable congregation of settlers and soldiers. Many of the latter told me they had not heard a sermon for three or four years previously to my arrival in the Bay. During this Lord's day I also celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and was joined therein by a goodly company of serious communicants.

When the Government issued proposals in England for this emigration, one of the regulations was, that each head of a family, or other settler, who was to be entitled to one hundred acres of land, should deposit ten pounds, to be repaid through the head of the party after arrival in the Colony. Some of the parties consisted of individuals whose head or leader advanced the whole deposit-money for himself and ten or fifteen other settlers, who were articulated under various kinds of agreement to the head of the party, to reside with and to assist him,—he being entitled to the whole of the land allotted for each of the settlers who accompanied him. But the greater number, including the whole of the party with which I was connected, paid their own deposit-money, and each man had a claim for land in his own right; while the head of the party (Mr. Sephton) was simply elected by themselves as their representative, for convenient transaction of business with the Government functionaries, in all affairs involving the public interests of the whole.

The Home Government had sent out to Algoa Bay a good supply of agricultural implements, and other useful utensils, which the settlers were allowed to purchase, if they thought fit, on account of a portion of their deposit-money. And as it was impossible that they could provide themselves with the means of transit to the District of Albany, the colonial authorities, with great consider-

ation, caused the Dutch farmers from various parts of the Colony to come with their wagons and convey them thither, in the same manner, and for the same rates of remuneration, as had been usual in the transport of troops. The Commissariat was also employed to provide rations for the settlers on a fixed scale, until it would be practicable for them to raise crops. Towards payment of the expenses incurred hereby, one third of the deposit-money was ultimately detained by the Government, who had from necessity disbursed a much larger amount than that proportion of the money originally deposited would refund. Mistakes and blunders were of course committed by the authorities; but no candid persons among the settlers will, on the review, hesitate to speak with gratitude of the kind and considerate arrangements made by the Government on their behalf.

Having awaited our turn, at length, on Monday the 5th of June, I loaded the two wagons assigned me; and, in company with many other settlers, we started on our journey up the country. The cavalcade, as it wound along the so-called road, and ascended the heights which intersected the path at various parts of our course, had a very picturesque appearance. The African wagons, covered with white sail-cloth tilts, each drawn by twelve or fourteen oxen, urged on by stalwart Dutch Colonists in rather primitive attire, or by tawny Hottentots with hardly any attire at all,—the noise occasioned by the incessant cracking of their huge whips, and the unintelligible jargon of the leaders and drivers, when urging the oxen, or while talking with each other,—all combined to produce in our unsophisticated English minds wonder and amusement. In some parts, however, the roads were rough and rocky; and from our inexperience in the

African mode of packing a wagon, so as to make it comfortable, we were dreadfully jolted, and in general the men preferred walking; but the women and children suffered a good deal from knocks and contusions on head and shoulders, and other parts of the body.

In some places it was highly dangerous to remain in the wagon, as the road was often uneven and precipitous, and the wagons were not unfrequently overturned. On one occasion I was sitting in the wagon with my wife and child, as we approached the bank of the Bushman's River, at which there was at that time a deep and almost precipitous descent towards the drift or ford. Being seated in the back part of the wagon, which was rather an English than a colonial arrangement, we could not see anything in front. The Dutch driver, finding we did not descend, came behind the wagon, and tried to make us understand that it was desirable to do so. He had learned a few words of English from the British soldiers, and, putting his hands to each side of his face, and giving a very expressive twist of his head, he exclaimed, "*Break neck.*" This was sufficiently explicit to cause our immediate descent from the wagon, which forthwith went off with such a noise and run, as made us tremble for our goods, and thankful that we were no longer in the vehicle ourselves.

We were first taken to Reed Fontein, near the western banks of the Kowie River, where it was understood the party was to be located; but after a short time it was ascertained that we had been placed on lands designed for another body of settlers! This was felt to be very vexatious, but there was no remedy; and wagons were sent to remove us to another location, some twenty-five miles distant, and which we had

already passed on our journey up the country. We arrived at our final destination on the 18th of July, 1820. Here we were immediately joined by the bulk of our party from Algoa Bay. It is not easy to describe our feelings at the moment when we arrived. Our Dutch wagon-driver intimating that we had at length reached our proper location, we took our boxes out of the wagon, and placed them on the ground; he bade us *goeden dag*, or farewell, cracked his long whip, and drove away, leaving us to our reflections. My wife sat down on one box, and I on another. The beautiful blue sky was above us, and the green grass beneath our feet. We looked at each other for a few moments, indulged in some reflections, and, perhaps, exchanged a few sentences; but it was no time for sentiment, and hence we were soon engaged in pitching our tent; and when that was accomplished, we removed into it our trunks, bedding, &c. All the other settlers who had arrived with us were similarly occupied, and, in a comparatively short time, the somewhat extensive valley of that part of the Assagaay Bosch River, which was to be the site of our future village, presented a lively and picturesque appearance.

The location assigned us extended on both sides of the stream just named for about six miles in length. It consisted of a series of valleys and bottoms of light alluvial soil. These valleys were of various and unequal width, and followed the winding course of the river, which had its source in the Zuurbergen, a range of mountains not far distant to the north. It was rather a great drain to the high lands than a river; for, although at the time of our arrival it was flowing, yet we afterwards found that for several months of the year

it does not flow ; but, like many periodical streams called rivers in Southern Africa, it consisted chiefly of long reaches of comparatively deep water, but with occasional intervals of from ten to thirty yards in width, called "drifts" or fords ; where, excepting after heavy rains, it was generally possible to cross the bed of the stream dry-shod. In many parts the water was brackish ; but it afforded an abundant supply for all ordinary purposes, and for the large amount of live stock accumulated at a subsequent period by the settlers ; while, at various points, there are valuable and never-failing springs of water of the best quality for drinking and culinary purposes.

The hills bounding the succession of long, low valleys on both sides the river, wind gently down from the extensive flats or plains which extend for many miles on the common level of the country. These plains, as well as the connecting slopes, are covered with grass, affording in most seasons an abundant supply for cattle. The sides of the hills descending to the valleys are in many parts variegated with patches of wood, of several varieties, affording abundance of fuel, and of poles, &c., for building and other purposes. The bottoms by the river side were in most places nearly destitute of trees, and presented a great extent of land ready to receive the plough ; and when the white tents of the settlers were pitched and dotted up and down on their several homesteads, the scene presented to the eye was at once romantic and pleasing. It was not like a soldiers' encampment, but rather suggested the idea of a large number of persons who had recently gone forth from some crowded city to enjoy the pure air, and bask under a beautiful sky, in picnic parties of pleasure.

There were not wanting among the settlers those who admired the beauties of nature, and who often expressed to others of similar tastes their admiration of many lovely nooks and corners where the hand of man had as yet done nothing ; but all were soon awakened to the necessity of dealing with the stern realities of life. The tents were very hot during the day, and cold at night. They were not always a protection from the occasional heavy showers of rain, and in the frequent high winds they were anything rather than safe and secure dwellings. Hence every one was soon busily occupied in cutting poles, and conveying them to the respective homesteads, or handling the hatchet, the adze, the hammer and nails, and other implements and materials required for building operations.

After a while a great variety of fragile and grotesque-looking huts or cottages began to arise. These were generally built in the style called by the settlers "wattle and daub." A space of ground was marked out, according to the views of the future occupant of the structure, large enough for one or two rooms. The best generally were designed for two rooms of about ten by twelve feet each, forming a building of ten by twenty-four feet. Strong upright posts were planted all round the building about two feet apart ; these were firmly fixed in holes dug in the ground to the depth of eighteen or twenty inches to receive them ; they rose to the height of about six feet above the ground ; thinner poles were planted between the stout posts, and then a quantity of smaller wood, slender branches of trees or shrubs, was cut, and used for the purpose of wattling all round the building. When this was completed, it had the appearance of a great wicker vessel or huge basket.

A wall-plate, being generally a large pole squared by the adze, was nailed on the tops of the upright posts on each side and end of the building. A roof, consisting of as many rafters as were necessary, all of poles, was securely nailed to the wall-plates. On the rafters were nailed, or sometimes tied, laths at proper distances, to which the thatch of rushes or reeds, cut from the bank of the river, was fastened by means of cord made from the rushes. When the whole was covered, the walls were usually plastered over, inside and out, with clay mixed and prepared with water, and tempered by treading with the feet in the same manner as brickmakers prepared clay for bricks before pugmills were invented. At first there was no plank for doors, or glass for windows: hence a mat or rug was usually hung up in the void doorway, to do duty for the one; and a piece of white calico, nailed to a small frame of wood, and fastened into two or three holes left in the walls for the purpose, admitted light into the dwelling during the day, when the wind rendered it inconvenient to keep these spaces open. The floors of these dwellings were usually made of clay. Ant-hills, which had been deserted by the ants, were used for this purpose; and, when properly laid, they made hard and level floors, which were kept in order by being often smeared over with a mixture of fresh cow-dung and water,—a mode of securing clean and comfortable *earthen* floors, which, however strange to English ideas, all natives and colonists of Africa know to be indispensable. After a while those who aspired to neatness and comfort found pipe-clay, and at length limestone, from which they obtained lime, and thus they were enabled to whitewash their tenements, which gave them a more cheerful and

greatly improved appearance. I have described the better class of structures erected by the settlers at the beginning; but there were many whose first attempts were miserable failures, and hardly served to protect them from the weather. Some, taking advantage of particular spots favourable to their purpose, thought they saved themselves labour by digging out holes, and burrowing in the ground, placing a slight covering over their excavations; while others, again, filled up interstices between perpendicular rocks, and thus obtained very substantial, but rather cold and uncomfortable, quarters.

There was a ruinous wattled and reed building which had been erected by a Dutch farmer, during his temporary sojourn on these lands. It stood in a central situation; and it was resolved that it should be public property, and be used for general purposes of utility. It was about fifty or sixty feet long, ten or twelve feet broad; and the walls from the earthen floor were about five feet high, with an open roof thatched with reeds. This building was for some time used as our temporary place of worship. It was likewise the "town hall;" for here all public meetings of the settlers, on matters of general concern, were holden. Here were also kept the commissariat supplies, where the rations of meat and flour were distributed. Part of the building, being separated from the rest by a temporary screen, was also, on occasion, used as a "lying-in hospital;" and here was born a child of one of the settlers, who afterwards grew up to manhood: and whom, on the 25th of November, 1848, I had the gratification, in conjunction with other Presbyters of the Wesleyan Church, to ordain to the office of the Christian ministry.

All these contrivances for dwellings and public buildings have long since passed away ; and the settlers now generally occupy good and substantial stone or brick houses, which, as they gradually surmounted their early difficulties, were erected on their homesteads and farms ; and not a few of them have taken care to provide their families with every convenience and appliance requisite in that country for domestic comfort. But I have thought the English reader might wish to know how they managed to obtain shelter for themselves at first ; and, should any of the surviving British settlers of 1820 read these pages, they will not regret this reference to their early difficulties, over which, by the “good hand of God” upon their enduring industry, they have long ago so nobly triumphed.

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CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN ALBANY.

SETTLEMENT named by Major-General Cuyler—Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Somerset—Extent of the District—Description of the Country—Locations of the Settlers—Scottish and Irish Settlers—Character of the Soil—"Precious Stones"—Industry of the Settlers—Labour under Difficulties—Extent of cultivated Land—"Rust" in the Wheat Crops—Privations—Healthful Climate—Many abandon their Locations—Graham's Town becomes the Capital—Destructive Storm—Great Distress—Settlers' Relief Fund—Crisis of the Settlement—Unusual Costumes—Settlers from various Classes of Society—Beneficial Influence of their diversified Antecedents—Rise of Trade in Albany—Causes of the Paucity of its present Agricultural Population.

SOME who read these pages may probably be desirous of being informed how the British Settlement in Albany, and the Eastern Province of the Cape, progressed from the time of its foundation in 1820, and what are its present state and prospects. The history of the Settlement has not yet been written, and I do not design, in this small work, to supply that desideratum; but I will fill this chapter with some details which, to many readers in England, will probably be new; while those who feel no interest in the affairs of a rising British Colony, but read this book with an exclusive view to the statements it contains relative to the condition of the Heathen, and the progress of Christian Missions, can skip the present chapter, and they will find, in succeeding parts of the book, that which will, I hope, in some degree meet their wishes.

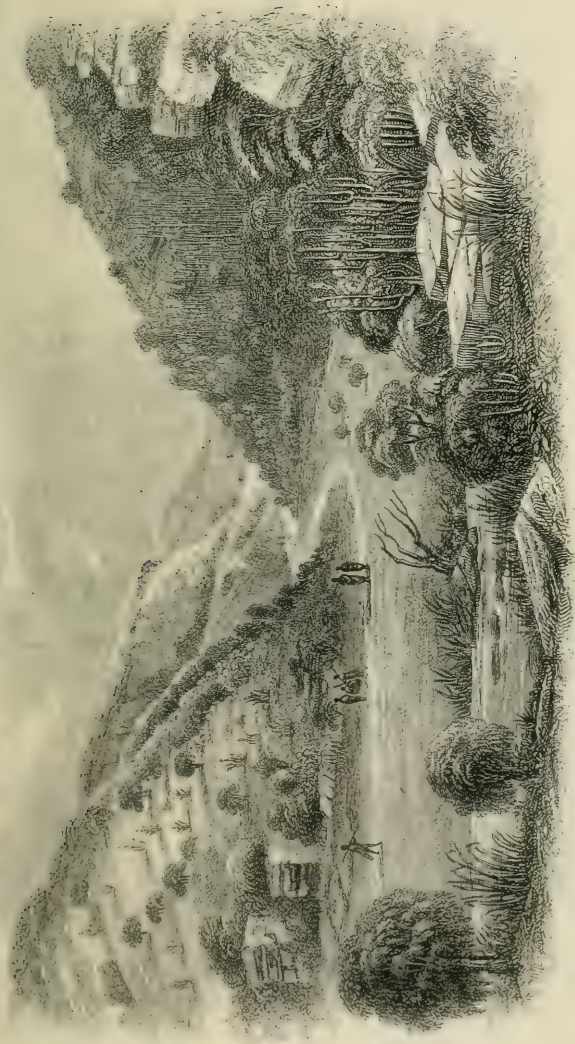
The Settlement was formed in a tract of country called by the Dutch farmers, from the character of its pasturage, the *Zuur Veldt*, or "sour grass" country; but Colonel (afterwards General) Cuyler, who was the Landdrost of Uitenhage, of which division or district it formed a part, named it "Albany," by which designation it has always been known among the English. It was first formed into a sub-district with a Deputy Landdrost, at the time of the arrival of the British settlers; and that office was then held by Captain Somerset, now Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Somerset, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief at Bombay. On this officer devolved the important duty of locating the various parties of settlers, under instructions from Sir R. S. Donkin, who was the acting Governor of the Colony, during the absence, in England, of Lord Charles Somerset.

It is but justice to the present Sir Henry Somerset to say, that his activity in the discharge of this irksome and somewhat difficult task, and in many cases his kind consideration for the position and circumstances of the settlers, were most praiseworthy; and, as an evidence that they were regarded at the time with grateful feelings, I may here mention that I was one among twenty-four persons, principally heads of parties, who presented to Captain Somerset a written document, in which we thanked him in warm terms for the manner in which he had endeavoured to promote the welfare of the British settlers. This address was presented to him at his residence at Oatlands, in Graham's Town, February 15th, 1821, on occasion of his being about to leave that part of the Colony. He subsequently returned to the frontier, but his duties were, from the

time of his return, exclusively military ; and, as he rose rapidly to the highest command, he won the approval and gratitude of the settlers on many important occasions, by his activity and gallantry in defending their lives and property, when in imminent peril during the Kaffir wars.

The Zuur Veldt, or Albany, extends along the line of coast from Bushman's River to the Great Fish River, and is bounded on the north-west, or inland side, by an irregular line which runs nearly parallel to the coast at an average distance of about 60 miles,—the average distance from the Bushman's River to the Great Fish River being about 50 miles. This division of the Colony may be roughly estimated as having an area of about 3,000 square miles ; but as only that part of the district which lies adjacent to the sea, to the extent of some 30 miles inland, was to be occupied by the settlers, the area appropriated to them at first was about 1,500 square miles, or rather less than 1,000,000 acres.

A high range of mountains forming the eastern termination of the Zuurbergen, which run for a great distance parallel with the coast, gives rise to the Bushman's River, the Assagaay Bosch River, the Karekah, the Kowie, and the Kap Rivers, which, with some smaller intermediate streams taking their rise nearer the sea in a secondary range of hills, at once supply sufficient water, and serve to diversify the general surface of the district. These streams, however, in most cases, only flow during a part of the year ; but the general elevation of the country being much above the level of the sea, the periodical floods have scooped out immense vraines and deep beds by which they flow into the



SCENERY IN THE MOUNTAINS OF SOUTH AFRICA

ocean. The result of this conformation is generally a romantic and rugged country in the vicinity of these streams, while the intervals consist of extensive grassy plains or prairies. Hence, while it is easy to traverse the district from north to south, by keeping on the high plains between two principal streams, it is always a work of difficulty to travel from west to east, in consequence of the rocky precipices and widely extended bush or jungle which in some parts fringe the hills that slope down from the plains to the river valleys below.

The general appearance of the district is picturesque and pleasing. Excepting during very severe droughts the country is covered by a coarse grass, and usually has a verdant aspect. The *Mimosa* studs the plains and slopes of the hills. In many parts a thick shrubbery grows in patches, as if planted for ornament, and gives the country a park-like appearance; while in other places, favoured by shelter from the high winds, trees of a much larger growth shoot up to a considerable height; among which are most conspicuous the straight and tall *Euphorbia*, with their naked and melancholy-looking branches, relieved, however, by the *Erythrina Cafra*, or *Corallodendrum*, known among the Dutch farmers and English colonists as the *Kafferboom*. This often grows into a large and umbrageous tree, and is sometimes met with standing apart. In the spring season it is covered with innumerable blossoms, of a brilliant scarlet colour, giving it a very gorgeous appearance. I saw some poles of this kind of tree planted by a Dutch gentleman before his house in Graham's Town in the year 1820. They struck root, and have grown into large and highly ornamental trees, still standing in the High Street, where they were

originally planted. They have witnessed the rise and progress of the town; and the inhabitants, no less than the present proprietor,—an English gentleman,—who has always taken great care of them, and to whose house they afford shade and ornament, would regret their decay and disappearance, as the removal of old and familiar friends.

On the arrival of the settlers, they were immediately placed in all parts of this district. The first parties being set down near the Great Fish River, and, consequently, furthest in advance; the next arrivals were located on the nearest available spot to the westward, and so on with each fresh batch, till all the most promising spots for location were occupied from the mouth of the Fish River in the east, to the Bushman's River on the western extremity of the district. A small party of Scottish settlers, under Mr. Pringle, were settled in the Cradock District, on the Baviaans River, about one hundred miles to the north of Albany, and in the midst of a number of Dutch farmers, who, at that period, occupied that part of the country. A body of settlers from Ireland, under Mr. Parker, a gentleman from Cork, and who had once been the Mayor of that city, were most inconsiderately located on the western side of the Colony, in Clan William district, bordering on Namaqualand, a country not at all adapted to their circumstances; and which, by its great distance from the eastern frontier, cut them off from all intercourse and sympathy with the British settlers. As might have been foreseen, their settlement was soon broken up, and the Irish settlers scattered. Many of them returned to Cape Town, where they easily obtained employment. A small party of them, however, availed themselves of a proposal of the local

Government, and were forwarded to Algoa Bay ; and ultimately obtained a grant of land among the other settlers in Albany. The Clergyman who had accompanied the Irish party to the Cape Colony, Rev. F. M'Cleland, after the party was dispersed, obtained an appointment as Chaplain at Port Elizabeth, which was, at that time, just beginning to be built on the shore of Algoa Bay.

There was considerable diversity in the soil of Albany. In some places it consisted of a stiff red loam ; in others, a rich black earth prevailed ; while, in parts near the sea, the ground was almost entirely loose sand, only held together by the crop of long coarse grass which was growing upon it : but, in general, the settlers who were best acquainted with agricultural pursuits, deemed the country likely to render a rich return for such labour as might be bestowed upon it, if the land were judiciously treated, as the various qualities of the soil seemed to require. Some parts of the district were intersected by masses of loose stones and stratified rocks, lying near or on the surface ; and, in some instances, the first division of the lands made amongst the settlers in the several locations, caused an undue proportion of these plots, unfit for cultivation, to be included in the allotments of individuals. A case of this kind gave occasion to a rather ludicrous occurrence, which formed a pleasant story, often told by the early settlers. While stipulating that each settler should receive a grant of one hundred acres of land, it was distinctly stated that the Government reserved its right over "all minerals and precious stones," that might be discovered on the lands. A settler, who had been unable to obtain any redress of his grievance, as to the

alleged worthlessness of his location for the purposes of cultivation, went to the acting Magistrate at Bathurst, to complain. The Magistrate, a military officer, not remarkable for his suavity in the transaction of business at any time, was indisposed to pay much attention to certain matters which the settler, who was the head and representative of a small party of ten families, wished to urge on his notice at this interview. Consequently, he was about to retire; but, before leaving the room, he said, "Well, Sir, but I wanted to speak with you concerning the reserve made by Government on the land, in consequence of which I think it is hardly worth our while to continue upon it." "Reserve!" said Captain T., "what reserve?" "Why, has not the Government reserved all minerals and precious stones that are found on the locations?" "Certainly," said the Magistrate in a milder tone and manner than he had just before indulged; "but do you know of any precious stones being found?" "O, yes!" replied the settler, "there are plenty on my location." "Indeed! how do you know they are precious stones, and of what kind are they?" "Precious big ones, Sir," responded Mr. H., and immediately retired from the magisterial presence. I repeat the story as nearly as I can remember to have heard it frequently told by various persons. I believe the settler ultimately obtained some alteration in the boundaries of his location; at any rate, I am sure he deserved it, for his wit and ingenuity in gaining the unwilling ear of the only local authority who could help him.

I must bear my testimony to the determined industry with which these first settlers, with some exceptions, set to work. The Government had engaged to supply

them with rations, to be paid for from the deposit money, paid by them into the Colonial Office in England, till they could raise crops of food for themselves; and all but a few drunken and “ne’er-do-weel” sort of persons commenced digging and planting with the greatest industry. But it was labour under difficulties. Many had never been accustomed to handle the spade, and were much better acquainted with the works and ways of large towns and cities, than with the occupations and modes of life which most prevail in our agricultural villages and districts. There were ploughs; but they had been sent from England, and were not adapted to breaking up the rough African lands; and happy was the settler who could command the means for purchasing some trained oxen, and obtaining the assistance of any stray Hottentot or impoverished Mulatto who understood the use of the strong and rudely contrived ploughs, by which the Dutch boors of the country generally broke up the virgin earth. The management of the oxen, and the guidance of the plough, with such bullocks, unaccustomed to the yoke, and by drivers who knew not how to control them by the use of the unwieldy African whip—to say nothing of the intense heat of the sun, which sometimes, notwithstanding it was the winter season, shone out with overpowering lustre—rendered these field occupations toilsome and unsatisfactory.

It was, however, surprising to see the extent of land which had been broken up by the spade and plough, during the first two seasons. From the gardens were raised, in many places, various esculents in abundance, which afforded promise that horticulture would prove a profitable employment; but the wheat, of which

considerable quantities had perhaps been inconsiderately sown at first, proved an entire failure, in consequence of a fatal blight which became general. It was called "the rust," from its covering blade, stem, and ear of the plant with reddish-looking spots, which, if rubbed when in the early stage of the disease, left rusty stains on the hand; and in a few days it completely destroyed the tissue of the plants, as rust will in time corrode iron. Nothing could be more promising than were the crops of wheat in all the early stages of their growth; but just as the stems began to shoot into ear, and in some cases even after the grain was formed in the ear, this blight attacked it, and the whole crop became worthless. The disappointment was great the first season; but it was supposed that the disease might arise from some cause connected with the first cultivation of the ground and sowing it with wheat, and that it would perhaps not appear again. But after repeating their attempts for two or three seasons with the same result, the settlers were quite discouraged, and gave up all hope of being enabled to raise bread for themselves and their families from the ground. Other kinds of grain, indeed, they soon found could be easily grown: rye, barley, oats, and Indian corn, were raised in large quantities; and, by various ingenious contrivances, these kinds of produce supplied the want of flour and bread made from wheat.

The first three or four years were spent in great suffering and privation. The general distress, however, would have been much greater, but the settlers were enabled, by purchase or barter with the older Dutch colonists, to obtain a supply of horned cattle. These cattle grazed and increased on the common pastures, and the cows afforded a considerable supply of milk, which,

with pork and the various kinds of grain already enumerated, and pumpkins, potatoes, and other garden produce, enabled them to feed their families. Many also made butter and cheese, and, by carrying these articles regularly to the Military Stations for sale, they obtained the means to purchase a few groceries. The latter were not, however, always to be had in the scantily supplied stores, and the settlers soon discovered that a plant which grows throughout the district could be used in the form of decoction as a refreshing beverage, only not *quite* so good as tea; while roasted barley, when ground into a fine powder, formed a substitute for coffee. Now and then wild honey from the rocks or woods furnished the means of sweetening those beverages. Happily, as the older Dutch colonists possessed large herds of cattle and sheep, flesh-meat could generally be obtained at small cost: hence there was never a period of actual starvation. But if the climate had not been of the most healthful kind, it is likely that the extremely low and coarse diet to which numbers were unavoidably limited, with exposure to rain and damp, and the rapid alternations of heat and cold, would have induced extensive disease and premature death. But this was not the case. The people were generally in the highest health, perhaps from being much in the open air; and some medical men who had accompanied the settlers from England left the district in disgust, as being not likely to afford them any opportunity for the practice of their valuable profession.

The non-issue of rations by the Government, after the settlers had been nearly two years on the ground, became the signal for a considerable number of the people to abandon their allotted lands. At first it was intended

that the capital of the district should be at a spot called Bathurst, chosen for its great beauty of situation, and its proximity to the mouth of the Kowie River, which was regarded from the first as likely to become the future port of the settlement, whenever suitable works could be constructed for removing or deepening the bar at its mouth. On the return from England of Lord Charles Somerset, however, Graham's Town—already the head quarters of the troops—was constituted the capital of the district. This measure was very unpopular for a time; but events have shown that it was a better arrangement than that first meditated.

In consequence of the proclamation fixing Graham's Town as the capital, there arose a great demand for mechanics and labourers of all kinds, for the purpose of erecting houses and barracks. Hence most persons who were qualified to enter upon these branches of industry, gradually withdrew from their locations, and obtained employment at high wages, or became masters on their own account. As the town increased rapidly, an opening for trade was presented, and stores and shops soon began to rise up for the supply of the troops and population of various classes. Thus Graham's Town, from being, at the time when the settlers arrived, a mere military cantonment, with some ten or fifteen small and chiefly temporary dwellings erected by married officers and non-commissioned officers, and a few camp followers,—soon began to assume the appearance of a bustling and rising town.

In October, 1823, when the settlers had been about three years and a half in the country, a fearful storm occurred, during which the rains fell and the winds blew in a most terrific manner. The dwellings of the

people, including some that had been deemed very substantial, were in numerous instances blown down: others were washed away by torrents of water. The rivers, rising much higher than had been conceived possible, overflowed their banks, and carried off the standing crops; while in some instances individuals were swept away with the strong current, and drowned. The distress which followed this catastrophe was very severe, and many very worthy persons were reduced by it to great straits. Besides a limited amount of pecuniary aid, promptly offered to the distressed by Government, it must be recorded to their lasting honour, that various benevolent persons, in Cape Town and India, on hearing of this calamity, contributed considerable sums for the relief of the distressed. The late Rev. Dr. Philip, whose acquaintance I had previously made, on occasion of his visiting the frontier, and H. E. Rutherfoord, Esq., took a leading part in this generous movement. Mr. Rutherfoord undertook the laborious office of Secretary to the Committee in Cape Town, on whom was devolved the work of distributing the funds contributed for this object. This gentleman corresponded with me very frequently on this matter; and his letters, still in my possession, show the anxiety felt to relieve the most pressing cases as promptly as possible. The duty of distributing the earliest remittances among the greatest sufferers, was committed to me. As I was already known to the whole body of the settlers, and, in consequence of my frequently visiting the various locations in my ministerial capacity, I was perhaps as well, or better, acquainted with the circumstances of the people than any other person,—I could not decline to render aid in the distribution of this relief, although I found it required

much time, and was a duty of great delicacy and difficulty. But, while engaged in this labour of love, my removal to Kaffraria became necessary ; and, before I left the Settlement, a local committee of Ministers and gentlemen was formed, who acted in concert with the committee in Cape Town, and on this committee ultimately devolved the difficult work of distributing the large funds which had been contributed in India and elsewhere for this truly benevolent purpose.

This was the crisis of the Settlement. Many who remained on the lands were in great difficulties. The clothes which they had brought with them from England were now worn and threadbare ; there were but very limited means of purchasing, at the enormous prices then charged, the needful materials for replenishing their wardrobes ; and not a few were glad to attire themselves in the costume that had prevailed among the Dutch farmers, and others, in South Africa, before the arrival of the settlers. At this period I was myself obliged to ride about the Settlement dressed in a sheep-skin jacket and trowsers, with a broad-brimmed hat, made from the leaves of the *Palmiet*, which grew in some of the streams. My dress was in fact similar to that worn by a large number of persons ; and it was well adapted for "roughing it" on the road and in the jungle ; but not exactly such a dress as an Englishman prefers when circumstances pecuniary and otherwise will allow of an alternative. Even the females had to exhibit their characteristic ingenuity in devising dresses from the coarse kinds of cotton stuffs which at that time were brought to the Cape from India, and sold at high prices. In some instances the well-dressed sheep-skin was formed into a skirt or frock ; and hats and

bonnets, made also from the same material as those worn by the men, were in very general use. It is a pity that all this occurred before the days of photography, or many highly respectable families in Albany, and other portions of the Cape Colony, might now possess some portraits of their fathers and mothers, the "founders" of the Albany Settlement, exhibiting very grotesque costumes of a highly historic character.

It was complained at the time, and it has occasionally since been rather sneeringly said of the first English settlers in Albany, that they were generally unfit to form the population of a new country. It was affirmed that they were a race of Cockneys; and that persons with such unpromising antecedents as weavers, pen-makers, pin-cutters, &c., were found in considerable numbers among them. I need hardly say that this was a gross exaggeration, founded upon a few exceptional cases. That in such a large body of people there were some who had probably mistaken their providential call when they resolved to emigrate to South Africa, is not unlikely; but, after a long and intimate acquaintance with the settlers, I have been led to regard them, on the whole, as a very suitable class of persons for founding a new Colony. About one half had emigrated from London, and other large towns and cities in Britain, and the remainder came from various agricultural villages and districts. Observation and experience have led me to the conclusion that these proportions in the classes of emigrants to an entirely new country, are better than a body of people selected *wholly* from agricultural districts. Those from the towns and cities comprised a large number of artificers and mechanics, possessing skill of a kind most valuable in a new

community; while others from the towns had a perfect knowledge of the principles of trade and commerce, and a general intelligence far exceeding the average of that displayed by the class of agricultural labourers in England. There was also a fair proportion of half-pay officers, and other educated persons of gentlemanly tastes and feelings, who, from various causes, had been led to emigrate from Great Britain at this period. Hence the settlers of Albany really had amongst them men adapted to every want of society as it exists in a newly forming community.

The advantage of this diversity in the capacities and qualifications of the settlers became very evident when the people were reduced to their lowest state. Nearly the whole body of the mechanics soon found very profitable employment in the town; and when that seemed to be overstocked, many of them removed to Algoa Bay, Uitenhage, Somerset, Graaff Reinett, and other towns or villages in the eastern districts of the Colony. Those who did not possess mechanical skill, but who, having come from the cities and towns of England, understood trade, obtained small supplies of goods, and travelled, at first as hawkers, among the Dutch farmers, selling goods at rates that were held to be mutually advantageous. Notwithstanding very stringent laws to prevent all traffic with the native tribes, a smuggling trade was also commenced by some of the settlers. It is among my earliest pleasant reminiscences that I availed myself of an opportunity to write a long communication to the Government to show how much better it would be to legalize this trade, and to appoint fairs at which the settlers and Kaffirs might meet for the purpose of barter. In 1823, the first attempt of this kind was

made by authority of the Government; and it afterwards grew into a system which continued for some years, till at length the trade was released from all restrictions, and greatly extended. Into these openings for trade, both among the Dutch farmers and the native tribes, many of the settlers entered with much skill and energy; and thus not a few individuals who hardly seemed likely to succeed as cultivators of the ground, commenced trafficking with the investment of only a few pounds sterling, or, in some cases, with goods obtained entirely on credit, in reliance on their known good character: and this was the foundation of a long course of successful trade, which has in almost every case supplied them with ample means of support for their families in comfort and respectability, and, in some instances, led to the realization of very handsome fortunes. As a further evidence that a full proportion of well educated and intelligent persons were included in the number of the emigrants of 1820, I may mention that, in the course of years, the Colonial Government was glad to avail itself of the services of some of them, who have been engaged in the civil service of the Colony as Civil Commissioners, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, or in other prominent and responsible offices; while, as will soon appear, others became teachers in academies, and Ministers of religion.

Thus many of the very individuals whom some would have thought unsuitable to people a new country proved most valuable members of the community, and by their skill and general intelligence have developed the resources of the Colony; while, by drawing off from their locations, they left more scope for the class of agricul-

turists, for whom by their mercantile energy they provided markets which have gradually stimulated and rewarded their industry in the cultivation of the soil and the care of cattle and sheep. The one hundred acres granted at first to each settler did not allow sufficient extent for grazing their stock, and the settlers were in the beginning rather inconveniently crowded on their locations; but as more than one half ultimately abandoned their lands, which were afterwards granted to the actual residents, or otherwise became their property by purchase from the original owners, this evil was remedied, and, so far from being overcrowded, the locations and farms in Albany are at present much too thinly populated.

Now that there is a great and steady demand for agricultural produce, the coast part of that district might on a good system receive five times its present European population as agriculturists, with great advantage both to occupiers and owners. One reason why the rural population of Albany has of late years been so much reduced, is the disturbance and losses the people were called to endure, in consequence of the Kaffir wars; but the chief cause has been the numerous openings in the districts more inland, by the migration of the Dutch Boors beyond the boundaries of the Colony, and by the more recent founding of new districts, by the Government, on the frontier. Some of these new districts are better adapted to the purposes of sheep-walks than Lower Albany, which is chiefly fitted for agricultural occupations. The growth of wool has been found to be a most profitable pursuit; and this proved a sufficient inducement to a large portion of the settlers, and their descendants, to migrate from Albany to the other districts of the Eastern Province.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF THE CAPE COLONY.

THE Division of the Colony into two Provinces, recommended by His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry—Appointment of Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern Province—British Settlers spread themselves through the Province—Alleged Causes of the Discontent of many of the Dutch Farmers—Their Migration beyond the Orange River—Previous Wars among the Native Tribes in that Region—Cheap Farms purchased by British Settlers—Many of them migrate to the other Districts—The EASTERN PROVINCE is now emphatically the *British* Portion of the Colony—Its Chief Divisions or Counties—Law and Government—The Cape Parliament—Dissatisfaction of the People of the Eastern Province with present Arrangements—An improved Political System requisite—Chief Towns of the Eastern Province described—GRAAFF REINETT—PORT ELIZABETH—GRAHAM'S TOWN—Population of the Province—Its Commerce—Successful Results of the British Settlement of 1820.

HIS Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, sent out to the Cape so long ago as the year 1824-5, recommended to the Home Government the separation of the large Cape Colony into two provinces, the western and the eastern; and the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, to reside within the latter. Although many of their recommendations, which greatly altered the system of law and civil administration of the affairs of the Colony, were, in due time, brought into operation; yet the views of these far-seeing gentlemen, in regard to its division into two provinces, were only very partially and

inefficiently carried out. It might have been well for the peace of the border, and would, most likely, have greatly promoted the more rapid progress of the Settlement in the Eastern Province, if a Lieutenant-Governor, and local legislature, had been promptly established therein, after Mr. Bigge and Colonel Colebrooke visited and investigated the state of affairs on the frontier. All that was done, however, was to proclaim the geographical boundaries of the two provinces; and to appoint, first, a Commissioner-General, and, several years subsequently, a Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province. But these high officers were merely constituted the channel of communication between the various officers in the province, and the chief functionaries of Government resident at the Cape. The successive Lieutenant-Governors have never been intrusted with such powers as admitted of any independent action on their own responsibility; or even aided by a local legislature, in the form of a council, either elected or nominated. There is still a Lieutenant-Governor, who is also Commander of the Forces; but the only manner in which the province is now distinctly recognised in the legislative affairs of the Cape Colony, is that, by the constitution of the Cape Parliament, it is provided that seven of the fifteen Members of the Upper Chamber, or Legislative Council, must be qualified by the possession of a certain amount of property within the Eastern Province, and can only be elected by the voters who reside within the limits thereof.

When the Commissioners of Inquiry made their Report, the British settlers resided, with some very inconsiderable exceptions, entirely within the boundaries of the Albany District. Having, in the previous

chapter, sketched the early history of their establishment in Albany, I will proceed to show how they have gradually extended themselves over the greater part of the Eastern Province, of which they now constitute at once the most numerous, active, and influential portion of its European population. The removal of various mechanics to other districts, and the trading visits of some of the settlers among the older Colonists in those regions, and the descriptions given by both these classes of persons, of the people and country, filled the minds of their countrymen with a certain amount of knowledge concerning the openings for trade and farming pursuits in these so called Dutch districts. A few, consequently, migrated thither from time to time; but it was not until after the Kaffir war of 1835, that circumstances arose which caused a considerable dispersion of the settlers among the other districts of the province, situated more inland, but on or near the colonial border, and which had, heretofore, been occupied almost exclusively by the South African Dutch farmers.

The painful events of the war, and the restoration of the "neutral" territory to the tribes who had so recently devastated the Colony, had greatly unsettled many of the older colonists. To this cause was added the vexation felt by many of them concerning the emancipation of their slaves; further exasperated by the bungling arrangements for the payment of the compensation money, which, while the amount allotted by the Commissioners was deemed inadequate, was paid in such a manner, that enormous deductions were made in the shape of discounts, before they could convert their compensation orders into cash. While in a state

of great excitement and dissatisfaction, arising from these causes, certain proceedings of the Clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church, designed to promote its greater efficiency ; and, particularly, the anxious desire displayed by them to introduce into their public worship a book of evangelical hymns, long known and justly admired by the more intelligent of their people, but which were exceedingly disliked by many of the more ignorant and bigoted of the Boors,—added another element of discord. This was more especially observable among that portion of them called “Doppers;” who, on the north-eastern frontier, are a numerous, wealthy, and (with their own countrymen) an influential class of people. Unfortunately for the welfare of the Dutch Reformed Church, these people are a kind of sect within the Church, creating thereby a “schism in the body,” which would be much less mischievous in its consequences, if they were separated, and, as a distinct community, pursued their own methods for religious edification and usefulness,—supposing that they desire to be useful in the conversion of sinners, and the propagation of the Gospel : of the existence of such a desire, however, I never noticed among these people any decisive evidence. To all these causes of dissatisfaction may, probably, be added, a long slumbering disaffection towards the British authorities and Government, which had, on several occasions, betrayed itself as being widely spread among the old Dutch settlers living in the remoter districts of the Colony, arising, partly, from the natural discontent of a conquered people ; who, as many of them conceived, had not been fairly dealt with by the English Government. The combined influence of these several circumstances, which acted, more or less power-

fully on the minds of various individuals among them, induced a very large number, during the years 1837-9, to leave the Colony, and remove, with their families, flocks, and herds, beyond its northern boundaries ; and thus seek for themselves a country in the immense tracts of land only partially occupied by various native tribes in that direction.

Owing to a series of wars among the natives, of a most ferocious and bloody character, which had scattered or destroyed many tribes who formerly resided on the higher sources of the Orange and Vaal Rivers, a large region of extremely fine country, well adapted for grazing purposes, and exactly suited to the views of the Dutch farmers, was, at this period, almost entirely denuded of its inhabitants. The Hottentot, Coranna, and Bushmen tribes were few in number, and rambled over the country in pursuit of its immense supplies of game. The remnants of various Basutu and Bechuana tribes and nations were at this time also in a "scattered and peeled" condition ; and hence the emigrant Dutch Boors found no difficulty in obtaining a country suited to their views, either with or without the consent of such native Chiefs as lived in the neighbourhood of the districts which they chose for their settlements.

I may refer again to this subject in another part of this volume ; but it is beside my present purpose to enter further into the history and consequences of this remarkable exodus of the Dutch farmers, which has been followed by a small continuous stream of emigrants, chiefly of their own family connexions, from the old Colony ever since. An immediate result was, that a great number of very valuable sheep farms were thrown at once on the market for sale, in all the dis-

tricts where they had been heretofore almost the exclusive proprietors. As a natural consequence, superior farms were offered at merely nominal prices. I know numerous instances in which large and valuable landed properties were sold by these people—who in so infatuated a manner expatriated themselves—for trifling sums of money, or small quantities of ironmongery, and other manufactured goods; but which lands could not now be purchased for less than thousands of pounds! The British settlers in Albany were quite alive to the opportunity that was thus presented for obtaining extensive sheep farms. They were beginning to perceive the value of the country as a great wool-producing region: hence, to the utmost extent of their means, many purchased these farms, while on their removal others were induced to establish themselves at the same time in trade in the several district towns. By these means the English population of Albany was gradually reduced, and many of its villages became mere holdings of a very small number of families.

The migration from the above cause has been further perpetuated by the openings in the new districts more recently formed on the border by the Government, and has been going on for more than twenty years past. The consequence is, that the Albany settlers, with rapidly growing families, joined by a steady, although hitherto small, annual stream of British immigrants, and still further increased from time to time by officers and soldiers retiring or discharged from the army, always serving on the frontier,—have spread themselves through the greater portion of the eastern districts; and occupy in general the most prominent positions either as resident traders and merchants in the towns, or as

enterprising farmers possessing extensive sheep walks, and raising a constantly increasing supply of wool. This spread of the British element into the other districts has greatly stimulated the enterprise of the older Dutch settlers that still remain in the Colony, who now follow with rapid strides the onward progress of their English neighbours and competitors.

Thus the EASTERN PROVINCE of the Cape of Good Hope has become emphatically *the* British portion of the Colony. It consists of the divisions or counties of Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Albany, Fort Peddie, Victoria, Fort Beaufort, Queen's Town, Cradock, Somerset, Graaff Reinett, Colesberg, and Albert. In the first-named seven divisions of the province, the European population consists chiefly—indeed, in the greater part of them almost entirely—of British, while the English language is universally spoken. In the divisions of Somerset and Cradock, the white population is about equally divided between Dutch and English; while in Graaff Reinett, Colesberg, and Albert, although there are many English settled among them, the Dutch preponderate, and the Dutch language still prevails. English is, however, everywhere in the Eastern Province the prevailing language in the towns; and it is used in all the public offices and courts of law.

By subdivision the number of districts or counties is constantly increasing; and each of the divisions of the Colony has now a town or village which is the capital of the division or county. This is usually placed in a central situation, and is the seat of the local magistracy. Here are also the public offices for revenue and other business of the civil government within the division. A Civil Commissioner, who is likewise the Resident

Magistrate, is established in each of these towns. His magisterial decisions in the local or divisional court are examined by the Circuit Judges from the supreme court at Cape Town. The Judges usually visit these places in rotation on Circuit, twice a year, to try the more important causes, and the persons accused of the more serious criminal offences. The Dutch-Roman law, much modified by practice and rules quoted from the Westminster courts, and producing a rather undefined and undefinable system of law,—since it is too much of a conglomerate to be exactly described by any special designation,—is in force throughout the Cape Colony and Natal. Trial by jury, in criminal cases, was, however, long ago introduced, in deference to English feelings; and since the reconstruction of the courts of law, thirty years ago, the people have justly reposed the highest confidence in the integrity of the Judges of the supreme court, whose decisions, whether approved or not, are universally believed to be wholly uninfluenced by fear or favour. At no period, since the constitution of the present supreme court, have any expressions of want of confidence, on the part of the English settlers, in the Judges or law officers of the crown become current, in reference to the general administration of the law. Their only complaint on this point has referred to the serious inconvenience, delay, and expense, involved by the chief courts of law, and the offices for transfer of landed property, and those for other public business, being in Cape Town, at the distance of from five to seven hundred miles from the various frontier districts.

The late Sir George Cathcart, who resided, during the whole time of his government, in Graham's Town,

became so sensible that this is a real grievance, that he proposed, with the concurrence of Sir John Wylde, then Chief Justice of the Colony, a plan for obviating the inconvenience, by the establishment of a branch of the chief courts and offices of the law in Graham's Town, for the frontier districts. This wise and useful proposal was, however, frustrated by strong party feeling in the Cape Town Parliament; and the matter seems to be postponed *sine die*. This is only one of many instances in which the British inhabitants of the frontier constantly complain, that their claims and interests are habitually disregarded or overruled in Cape Town. As Englishmen, and warmly attached to English freedom, they are of course pleased that the Cape possesses a Parliament freely chosen by the people; but they complain that matters have been so contrived, that the frontier inhabitants are *practically* without representation therein; and, therefore, that unless some plan can be devised, whereby they may have a fair share of influence in the legislature, it would be better for frontier interests, if the previous form of government—viz., a Legislative Council, consisting of the Governor and three or four chief functionaries, with a sufficient number of gentlemen elected by the two provinces respectively—had continued in force. This is in fact the kind of legislature now existing in the Colony of Natal.

The frontier Colonists have often and loudly demanded either a removal of the seat of government to a more central position, or the separation of the provinces into distinct governments, each having its Local Governor and legislature; with a Federal Council and Governor-General to manage all business in which the

common interests of both provinces are involved. The feeling is so strong on these points, that during a recent session of the Cape Parliament the whole of the Members of the Upper Chamber or Legislative Council for the Eastern Province resigned their seats, finding that it was useless on their part to continue a hopeless struggle against Cape Town majorities, for securing a fair share of attention and regard to frontier questions and interests. Sooner or later the Government must reconsider the present constitution and working of the Cape Parliament. Matters are rapidly tending to a dead lock in legislative affairs; and the Eastern Province is not likely to rest satisfied with the present arrangements, now that its trade nearly equals in value, both in imports and exports, that of the Western Province; and, consequently, as the revenue is chiefly derived from the import dues, the people of the eastern districts contribute as largely towards the Government treasury as the inhabitants of the Western Province. I wish the reader to observe that, in reference to this topic, I am merely stating facts well known and often agitated in the Colony; but as this is not a book designed to discuss political questions, although I have long ago formed a strong opinion on the subject, I will not here obtrude that opinion on the reader.

The three largest towns in the Eastern Province at present are, Graaff Reinett, Port Elizabeth, and Graham's Town. GRAAFF REINETT, first mentioned because it is the oldest town in the province, was founded, before the close of the last century, by the Dutch Government, as a "drostdy," or seat of magistracy, to which a Landdrost was appointed. The

district or division at that time extended over nearly the whole of the districts which are now comprised in the Eastern Province; at least over all those portions of them where any of the Dutch farmers who had migrated from the districts nearer to the Cape had established themselves. I visited Graaff Reinett in 1822; and at that time, when there was nothing like a town in any other part of the province, it did not fail to create considerable interest in the minds of all travellers on their first arrival. It is situated in a kind of bay or basin, formed by a curve in the range of mountains called the Sneewbergen, or Snow Mountains, which stretch away on its northern side from west to east. To the southward and westward, there are vast plains of *Karoo Veldt*; a kind of country very deficient in grass, but everywhere abounding in succulent shrubs and bushes, which form a very nutritive pasture for sheep and cattle, although the general aspect of a district of this kind appears to an European eye dreary and barren in the extreme.

After a long ride across a country of this description, Graaff Reinett, situated just under the mountains, copiously watered by streams from the Sanday's River, which have been led out for purposes of irrigation, well planted with trees of every kind, and the streets laid out at right angles, comprising a considerable number of substantially built houses, with antique Dutch gables, generally stuccoed and whitewashed, and a large Dutch Reformed Church and public offices,—formed altogether, in my view, a place of considerable interest, and, by contrast with the desert-like district in which it stands, seemed to shine forth in peerless beauty upon all the surrounding region. The inhabitants, at the time

of my visit, were estimated at about three thousand souls, of whom, probably, not more than one thousand were Europeans, chiefly Dutch and Germans; the remainder were slaves, Hottentots, and free Negroes. The town, which was at the time regarded as a sort of model Dutch town, and had for its Magistrate Captain—now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., did not make much progress for many years after my first visit to it. It was long before the English settlers established themselves there in any number; but since the farmers of the district have turned their attention to the growth of wool, they have found these extensive tracts of barren-looking soil to be extremely valuable as sheep walks. Hence the quantity of wool grown in the district has gradually increased to an immense amount. Graaff Reinett, being the natural centre and mart for this great wool-growing division, has received a considerable stimulus to the activity of its inhabitants and its trade. Many English traders and merchants have of late years established themselves in the place, and the population has considerably increased, and is likely to be well sustained by the constantly growing traffic which the supply of so large and prosperous a community of farmers naturally requires and repays.

PORT ELIZABETH.—I have already described the appearance of this locality, on the arrival of the British settlers in 1820. Since that time, and as a result of the formation of the British Settlement in the Eastern Province, there has gradually arisen, on this spot, a well built town, called Port Elizabeth, with a population of some five or six thousand souls, most of whom are busily engaged in the various occupations needed for

the management of the very large and flourishing trade which is now carried on in this place. The open roadstead of Algoa Bay, on the western shore of which the town has been built, had been known to navigators ever since the Cape was doubled by the early Portuguese discoverers. And after the British Government sent troops to the frontier,—which was done at first to put down the hostility of the Dutch frontier farmers to the English Government, and afterwards to protect the country from the inroads of the Kaffirs,—a gentleman from Europe was encouraged by the Government to settle near the Bay, and to carry on mercantile pursuits. Hence a vessel from Cape Town, with supplies chiefly for the troops, occasionally came to Algoa Bay, taking back a small quantity of butter and hides collected from a few of the nearest farmers. But Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, the acting Governor at the time of the arrival of the British settlers, immediately perceived that this must become a port of considerable importance. He therefore obtained an order in council declaring it a free port; and caused a town to be laid out near the landing-place, and a few of the English settlers speedily established themselves in it, to manage the landing and shipment of goods, an occupation that, commencing in a small way, and growing at first by slow degrees, has during the last ten or twenty years increased at a great rate, until the trade of the Eastern Province, almost exclusively passing through this port, reached for 1857, in IMPORTS, the large value of £1,282,556; while the EXPORTS for the same year have amounted to £1,084,640! Of course, the town has gone on increasing in population and wealth, in consequence of being the chief gate of entrance and egress of so large a

trade. Port Elizabeth is, in fact, the PORT of the Eastern Province, and has been aptly called the Liverpool of the Cape; for it already rivals Cape Town in the extent and value of its trade. Its inhabitants are chiefly British, who have on this spot fully displayed the characteristic energy and enterprise of their race. There is a considerable number of Malays and other coloured people in this town; and much of the labour connected with the shipping is done by the Fingoes and Kaffirs. But in general these people are not settled in the town; they are merely attracted by the high rate of wages which the merchants can afford to give for their useful and indispensable labour on the beach. As soon as they have accumulated the means of purchasing a few cows by their savings, this class of men usually return to their homes in the interior, and are succeeded by other labourers from the same populous hives from whence they originally came.

GRAHAM'S TOWN is the largest town in the Colony, next to Cape Town. It is in effect the capital of the Eastern Province, being the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, of the Bishop of the Anglican Church in the province, and the head quarters of the troops. It is the chief town of the division of Albany, and is considered to be the city of the British settlers of 1820, as it was chiefly built and established by them, although originally founded as a military post by Colonel Graham, in the year 1812. It has been often pronounced by good professional judges to be the very best position for the head quarters of the military force, kept for the defence of the frontier, being at once central, and possessing the means of immediate communication with

every part of the extended line occupied by the troops. Time has also shown that it is extremely well placed as an emporium of commerce for the north-eastern districts of the Colony, and the immense tracts of country beyond them to the north and east of the colonial boundary.

Several important and very active trading communities, established in various parts of the frontier, have always found Graham's Town to be their most convenient resort for mercantile transactions. Among these may be named Fort Peddie, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Bedford, Cradock, Queenstown, and Burghersdorp, to say nothing of places of smaller note, nor of King William's Town in British Kaffraria, which probably in time will conduct most of its trade by direct shipping transactions at East London,—the mouth of the Buffalo River. The continual growth of the trade of these places must feed that of Graham's Town, from whence they all derive their principal supplies. The opening of the Kowie mouth, where the works are reported by the latest advices to be in a satisfactory state of progress, will bring a port within thirty-five miles of Graham's Town; and as, from the peculiar character of the country, which for thirty miles of the intervening distance does not present the least engineering difficulty, a tramway or railroad may be laid down whenever it is deemed desirable, the town may be easily brought practically within one or two hours of the port for passengers and goods; and, indeed, whenever circumstances favour the construction of a railroad between Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth, which would be more likely to pay than any other line in the Colony, it would bring these places within an easy communication of less than four hours of each other.

Graham's Town is situated in an extensive valley on the northern base of that part of the Zuur Bergen, whence arise the chief sources of the Kowie River. It is watered by several small streams that, issuing from the mountain side, and flowing down natural channels, which they have scooped out for themselves in the deep soil, divide the town into several ridges, of nearly equal extent, running parallel with each other. The principal streets pursue straight lines along these ridges, and at convenient distances are crossed at right angles by other streets, which are rendered continuous by bridges over the intersecting streams. So that every cross street has one or two small bridges, while a bridge of considerable size, at the north-eastern end of the High Street, spans a deep gully, through which the principal stream flows, and which is often swollen by the rush of waters from the mountains in the rainy and stormy seasons. The streets are very wide and are "macadamized" with an excellent material which is obtained on one of the slopes of the mountain. There are also good broad causeways for foot passengers. In some of the streets, especially one side of High Street, a row of oaks, *Kaffir Boom*, and other trees, have been planted near the kerbstones of the causeways, which afford pleasant shade to the foot-passenger or loungeur during the intense heat of the summer day, and, contrasting with the clean appearance of the whitewashed or painted walls of the houses, add greatly to the beauty of the town. The houses are generally built of stone, in a very substantial manner: a smaller number are of brick. They are rarely more than two stories high, and the roofs are usually covered with slates, or zinc obtained from England, which have generally superseded the thatch by which the first houses in Graham's Town

were covered. The older houses are, however, in general, too small for a warm climate, and were erected rather under the prevalence of European notions, and the pressure of limited means, than with a view to the requirements of such a climate, and the taste that more ample resources might have allowed.

The general appearance of the town, including its numerous well planted gardens and orchards, is highly picturesque. It possesses various public buildings,—barracks for the troops, both at the eastern and western extremities; also a large district prison. There are several well-built places of worship, including three Episcopal Churches, three Wesleyan Chapels, two Baptist Chapels, two Independent or Congregational Chapels, and one Roman Catholic Chapel. A plain but handsome building of large dimensions, in the centre of the town, is appropriated for the public offices: near it are also the premises of the two Joint Stock Banks, which have been in operation many years, and transact an extensive, safe, and profitable business. There are also a public library, a museum, and last, not least, a botanical and public garden, which, if properly cared for, will provide for the healthful and pleasant recreation of successive generations of the inhabitants.

The population of Graham's Town, comprising all classes, may be roughly estimated at about eight or nine thousand souls. Of this number, probably five or six thousand are of the European race, chiefly British. The remaining two or three thousand are natives of various descriptions, Mulattoes, late slaves, Hottentots, Bechuanas, Kaffirs, and Fingoes. The last named tribes preponderate in number. More than half the natives live in separate settlements on the eastern side

of the town, where their beehive-shaped huts or other dwellings (for some have erected comfortable cottages) occupy building lots assigned to them by the Government. The remainder of the natives live in service with their respective employers, and the whole find occupation as servants or labourers among the white inhabitants. A very small number of the coloured people born in the Colony are mechanics, and work at their trades; but the vast majority are mere labourers, who, from the constantly increasing demand, can always obtain employment and wages quite equal to their varied degrees of skill, from the most awkward and stupid to those who, by longer practice in employments to which they had not been trained in early life, are become more handy and useful.

In such a diversified population there is so much to arrest attention, that Graham's Town is far from being a dull town. It possesses a large market, attended every morning by people from the country, and traders from the interior, to sell their produce. This is not only the source of supply to the town of a large portion of its daily wants, but very frequently the traders offer for sale on these occasions the varied kinds of produce which they have brought from the far interior,—elephants' tusks, hippopotamus or sea-cow teeth, rhinoceros horns, lion and tiger skins, and ostrich feathers, with the native karosses, composed of a great variety of beautiful skins or furs of the several sorts of wild animals which are found in such vast numbers on the unbounded plains of the interior. The assemblage on the market is likewise a kind of public exchange, where the merchants and dealers meet, and business transactions are often negotiated. The market is held in the morning, after the

breakfast hour. The merchants then proceed to their large and well stocked stores, where, through the day, they are occupied by their customers, the retail dealers, whether of the town or from the country. Very frequently the streets are crowded with wagons drawn by long teams of oxen, which are employed in carrying goods to their destinations in the country, or in conveying the wool, hides, and various other kinds of produce to the sea-port, for transmission to England. The town is well supplied with shops for the sale of wares and goods of all kinds. For its size and the number of its inhabitants it is often surprising to see the amount of business which seems to be going forward. The frequent appearance in the streets of the officers and soldiers of the garrison when off duty, and the numerous occasions on which their parades or field days bring them through the town accompanied by their bands of music, and the crowds of astonished and excited natives of every class who are frequently brought together in the streets, occasion much variety of scene, and produce a great deal more vivacity than is usually witnessed in the smaller provincial towns of Great Britain.

European society in the town is formed, as far as the extent of the population will allow, into much the same classes and coteries as obtain among the several divisions of the respectable and middle classes of people in England. The constant presence of a considerable number of military officers produces its usual effect of forming a sort of upper or exclusive circle, such as would hardly be expected to arise in a young Colony, and in so limited a population; but the interests of all ranks are so much blended, and the general spirit of the people is so frank and liberal, that there is probably as

much harmony of feeling among the several classes of Europeans, as in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions.

The inhabitants are, perhaps, too much immersed in the pursuits of business to afford sufficient time for mental occupation, and they cannot be regarded as a very intellectual race; but strong good sense is a prevailing characteristic among the people who constitute the chief traders, dealers, and artificers; and the town is not destitute of professional, scientific, and literary men, who would ornament and be the pride of any society. Instruction and rational amusement are frequently supplied by means of lectures, which are regularly delivered by well qualified lecturers at stated periods during six months of each year. The lectures are generally well attended by a large number of intelligent persons, who readily avail themselves of this means of adding to their stock of general knowledge. No less than four weekly newspapers are printed and published in the English language in Graham's Town. Some of these are conducted with considerable talent, and all with a fair share of ability; and, notwithstanding the proverbial asperity of local politics, the editors generally show a just regard for their own personal character, and the welfare of the community, by excluding matter calculated to promote malicious and personal feeling, or to debauch and demoralize the public mind and taste. The oldest and most influential of these local papers is the "Graham's Town Journal," which for a long period has had the largest circulation of any English newspaper published in any part of the Cape Colony, and I believe still maintains this pre-eminence, at all events in the Eastern Province. Its chief proprietor and editor from the

commencement has been my friend Mr. Godlonton, who is one of the British settlers of 1820.

The municipality is active, and the streets are generally well kept ; while the supply of water, conveyed in iron pipes to nearly every part of the town, is found, excepting in seasons of unusual drought, quite sufficient to supply the public baths,—which have been formed by a company of the townspeople,—and also the various householders, with that very needful element. An increased supply of water may be readily obtained by a reasonable outlay of money ; and, no doubt, the inhabitants will take care, as soon as practicable, that their own health and comfort shall be secured by an abundant supply, alike for domestic use and all requisite sanatory purposes.

The police are few in number ; but the general good order of the town is, nevertheless, well preserved. There has never been a night police ; nor are there, at present, any means for lighting the town at night by lamps, either with oil or gas ; and yet robberies have been very infrequent. As, however, they have latterly increased in number, the inhabitants are preparing for the establishment of a night police, for the better protection of life and property. On the whole, perhaps, nowhere in the British Colonies could a more pleasant residence be found for those who do not object to a bright and rather hot climate, with society intensely colonial in its tone and general elements.

This work not being designed to give an extended account of the Colony, the above condensed sketch of the present state of the chief towns in the Eastern Province will suffice to show the important results which have arisen from the arrival of the British

settlers in 1820. In consequence chiefly of their enterprise and energy, the Eastern Province, as already stated, has become distinctively the *British* portion of the Cape Colony. The population of this province, or even of its chief towns, has not been properly ascertained. There has never been anything like an accurate census taken: hence the population returns, annually published by the Government, are mere guesses, and present a certain for an uncertain number. My impression is, that for the towns, and, probably, still more as regards the rural districts, the population is considerably understated in these returns. By a statement drawn from the Government Annual Blue Book for 1857, the entire population of the Eastern Province is given as amounting to 169,173 souls. The same authority represents the population of the Cape, or Western Province, as being 132,923. According to this statement, the population of the Eastern Province exceeds that of the Cape or Western by 36,000 souls; which is chiefly accounted for by the very large influx of starving Kaffirs, admitted into the Colony by the humanity of the Government and people in 1857; most of whom naturally remained in the Eastern Province, as being nearest to British Kaffraria, from whence they migrated. The entire population of the European race now in the Eastern Province, may be assumed to be about 60,000; of whom say 35,000 souls are British, and about 25,000 Dutch or German settlers. If we estimate the native population at about 120,000, or two to one of the European race, we shall find a total of 180,000 souls in the Eastern Province; and, without pretending to offer this as an accurate statement, I believe it will be found to be as near an

approximation to the truth as the want of reliable returns will admit.

The advantages accruing to commerce, by the impetus derived from the activity and energy of the British settlers, since their arrival in 1820, notwithstanding the very heavy losses, and serious derangement of farming and commercial affairs, caused by successive Kaffir wars on the border districts, will be very evident from an inspection of the following extracts from the official records of Imports and Exports :—

TABLE showing the Progress of the Trade of the Eastern Province.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
1821	No return	£1,500
1822	£13,090	5,200
1830	18,455	24,439
1835	39,407	32,298
1840	79,247	72,031
1845	201,485	223,032
1850	354,749	294,905
1855	376,638	586,932
1857	1,282,556	1,084,640

TABLE showing the Quantity and Value of WOOL exported from the Eastern Province, in Periods of Five Years.

Years.	Quantity. lbs.	Value. £.
1830	4,500	222
1835	78,848	4,861
1840	401,521	21,023
1845	2,085,064	104,257
1850	4,323,650	212,166
1855	9,690,250	484,512
1857	14,064,261	703,213

It is but fair to state, that a considerable quantity of

the wool exported from the Eastern Province, since 1845, is grown in the Orange Free State, beyond the boundaries of the Colony. The trade of that province is, however, chiefly conducted by persons of the British race; and it must, from the geographical position of the country, always pass through the Eastern Province. The quantity of wool exported from the Cape or Western Province, in 1857, was 3,702,961lbs, valued at £185,148; thus giving, for *the whole Cape Colony*, an export of 17,767,222lbs, and amounting in value to £888,361: a fact which will, doubtless, arrest the attention of all engaged in the woollen manufactures of England.

There is a class of political economists and others in England who are constantly declaiming against the expense and heavy encumbrance of the Colonies to the mother country. Without, however, adverting to the glorious results upon the trade of England, arising from the more extended colonization which has taken place in the British North American Provinces, in the Australasian Colonies, and elsewhere, I would respectfully commend to the attention of the reader the above statement of the trade from only the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, as triumphantly showing that the £50,000 originally expended in founding the small Settlement in Albany, must have been already repaid many times over to Great Britain, in the original *cost of producing*, and all the *incidental British taxation*, on the vast amount of manufactures which is constantly absorbed by this ever-extending market, first created by the settlers of 1820; while all interested in the great woollen manufactures of the United Kingdom must perceive that the rapidly increasing production

of the raw material for this valuable branch of English industry, must be of the greatest importance to a large portion of the manufacturing and commercial community of the British nation. When it is remembered that, before the arrival of the British settlers, *there was no trade at all* between Algoa Bay and England, and only an occasional visit of a small vessel coast-wise from Table Bay ; although a considerable portion of the Eastern Province had been partially settled by the Dutch Colonists for forty or fifty years previously,—it will not be necessary, after calling attention to the above statement concerning the commerce of the Province, to write another sentence on the steady and large increase in material prosperity which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, has resulted from the formation of the British Colony in this part of South Eastern Africa.

CHAPTER V.

COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE MISSION.

FORMATION of Congregation and religious Society at Salem—Discomfort of temporary Place of Worship—Infested with dangerous Reptiles—Christian Ordinances—Baptists—Episcopalians—Anti-sectarian Spirit of Wesleyan Methodism—My Visits to other Parts of the District—Difficulties of Itinerancy in an infant Colony—Kind Reception by the Settlers—Local Preachers—Late Mr. Pike—First Places of Worship—Chapels built—Religious Destitution of the Settlers—Meeting convened at Salem—Its important Results—My first Visit to Graham's Town—Messrs. Price and Lucas—Preach in the Barracks—Methodism in the Army—Progress in Graham's Town—Erection of the first Wesleyan Chapel—Difficulty in raising pecuniary Means—General View of my Work at this Time—Foundation of first Chapel in Salem—Methods of building substantial Clay Walls—Full Occupation—Reading and Study—Names of Local Preachers on the first Circuit Plan—Application for additional Missionary—Disappointment—Visit Somerset (East) and Graaff Reinett—Failure of first Attempt to establish a Wesleyan Mission in the Bechuana Country—Two additional Missionaries in Albany—Dedication of the Chapels at Graham's Town and Salem—State of the Mission and People at this Period—Desirous of commencing a Mission in Kaffraria—Rev. William Threlfall—Claims of Colonists on the Sympathy and Labours of Missionaries—Constitution of Wesleyan Missionary Society—Beneficial Results to the Heathen of Missionary Labour in the Colonies—Mr. Threlfall's Departure and subsequent History—Graham's Town Chapel enlarged—My removal to Kaffraria—Continued Progress of the Mission in Albany—My Return to the Station at Graham's Town—Successive Reinforcements of Missionaries—Rev. Messrs. Palmer, Boyce, Cameron, J. Edwards, and W. J. Davis—Revival at Graham's Town—New Chapel needed and erected—Obtain leave to visit England—Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury—State of the Mission in Albany on my Departure in 1833.

HAVING endeavoured to place before the reader a general view of the history and progress of the British

Settlement which, first formed in Albany in 1820, has gradually extended its population and its influence throughout the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, I will now proceed with the narrative of my mission among these early British settlers; and this will naturally bring out some account of the religious and educational establishments which have grown up in various parts of the Eastern Province, since the time when the British Colony was founded.

My first care, on our arrival at Salem, was to establish religious ordinances for the benefit of the settlers who were under my special pastoral oversight. The rude structure originally erected by a Dutch farmer, who had removed to another farm granted to him by the Government, was used, as already stated, for various purposes for the common benefit of the people, and it served very well as a temporary chapel. For lack of a pulpit, I was accustomed to stand on a small box; and a writing desk, placed on the top of an American flour barrel, behind which I stood, formed the resting-place for the Bible and other books used in public worship. The people soon provided themselves with stools or benches; and in the course of a few weeks, the congregation had been regularly formed.

The place of worship constituted as great a contrast as could be well conceived to Great Queen Street Chapel, and other chapels in London, where most of the people had been accustomed to attend Divine service. Its earthen floor and unceiled roof, thatched with reeds, and open at the ridge-poles,—its reed and mud-plastered walls, through which several holes were opened to let in light and air,—and its dimensions, say sixty feet by twelve or thirteen feet, brought painfully to the minds

of the people the greatly altered circumstances under which they now offered their prayers and praises to the God of heaven. There was another source of discomfort, and indeed of some danger, connected with this temporary place of worship. The mice and rats had found a home in and around it, and this proved an attraction to snakes and other reptiles. On one occasion I was standing in a Class Meeting, giving the quarterly tickets; and while I was speaking to one of the members, another jumped up, and said in alarm, "O, Sir, there is a *puff adder* between your feet!" Looking down, I saw that the creature—one of the most deadly of the South African snakes—was indeed lying on the ground close to my feet. I quietly stepped aside, while some of the people with a stick attacked and destroyed the dangerous reptile, and we resumed our meeting, which was not concluded without praise offered to our Heavenly Father, by whose gracious providence I had been preserved from the "serpent's bite."

Notwithstanding the discomforts of the place, a considerable portion of the people speedily began to attend morning and evening service on the Lord's day, and many of them likewise attended the week-night services which were also commenced for Prayer-meetings and preaching the word. The more private means of grace established among the Methodists for the promotion of personal piety and religious communion were also soon commenced. Several individuals of consistent piety, and possessing intelligent minds, were appointed as Class Leaders; the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were duly and regularly celebrated; and all the usual means and appliances, enjoyed by the members of the Methodist Society in England

for their spiritual benefit, were thus provided for the people of my charge. A few families were Baptists, and they established religious services for themselves, which were efficiently conducted by Mr. W. Miller, one of their own number, who, although not having enjoyed the advantage of early education, was nevertheless a person of strong sense and a ready speaker. He was a good man, and for many years was the centre of union and the chief religious instructor of the Baptist denomination in the Colony. A portion of the people were Episcopalians, and they were pleased to find that at the forenoon service on Sundays I regularly read the liturgical service of the Church of England, as abridged under the direction of the Rev. John Wesley.

In my public ministrations, I avoided as much as possible all religious controversy,—feeling that, as many attended who had not been trained in Methodistic views, it would for various reasons be best, without compromising my own principles, to confine my sermons chiefly to a range of topics at once experimental and practical,—in a word, to the great and, by all evangelical Christians, admitted essentials of religious truth. It was soon apparent that this was the right course; for many who had been early trained in connexion with other religious bodies in England, whether as Churchmen or Dissenters, thus found nothing repulsive in my ministry, and therefore became my regular hearers. I always considered that Wesleyan Methodism, when rightly understood and properly administered, is “anti-sectarian and of a catholic spirit;” hence I readily admitted to the communion of the Lord’s table such persons of other denominations as exhibited suitable moral and religious qualities; and a portion of these, in

the absence of Ministers of their own denominations, used to avail themselves of the privilege of our "open," although not indiscriminate, communion.

Having thus established Christian ordinances at Salem, I soon became very desirous of visiting the other parties of settlers scattered in various localities of the district, for the purpose of ascertaining their religious state and condition. In those days this was an undertaking of no small difficulty. There was at the time no map of the district, showing the relative positions of the various settlements; and, excepting the principal line of road by which the settlers had reached the country from Algoa Bay, there were no roads leading to their several locations. I could only obtain very vague information from some Hottentots, who told me to travel in the direction of certain distant hills, and that I should find settlers' "tents," to the right or left, as the case happened to be. On these early journeys, of course, I frequently missed my way, and was at times benighted in the woods, which at that period were infested with various kinds of ferocious animals. I could not always obtain a horse, and hence I had frequently to walk over considerable distances through rugged districts, upon unformed paths, and not seldom having to wade through the unbridged streams that intersect the district. Indeed, several years subsequently to this period, my missionary colleagues, before they became familiar with the country, often missed their way; and occasionally it happened that a Missionary had to solace himself at night in the midst of a bush, by seeking such security and repose as could be obtained from climbing a tree and seating himself in its branches, to await the return of day.

At the commencement I frequently slept on the ground in the tents of the settlers, or, on subsequent visits, in their unfinished huts; where, as I wrapped myself in such bedding as could be procured for the night, there were neither doors to bar out burglars, nor windows to keep out the cold air, nor, indeed, in many cases, so much of a covered roof as prevented an extensive view directly over head of a large portion of the sky, tempting one to scan such constellations of the beautiful stars—and the stars do shine out beautifully in that clear atmosphere—as passed the field of vision. The reader, however, must not suppose that I made any considerable progress in astronomical studies under these (favourable?) circumstances: the truth is, I was generally so fatigued with my journeys, and the duties which I had to perform, that, regardless of comfort or discomfort, a deep sleep soon closed all meditations; but it re-invigorated me for the work of the following day. During this period of my missionary career, I often realized, in more respects than one, the exceeding truth of the maxim, “The rest of a labouring man is sweet, whether he eat little or much.” I soon began, however, to reap a good reward for these toilsome journeys. I visited in rotation nearly all the principal settlements; and preached to as many as I could assemble at the various places which presented the most likely points for forming congregations. Everywhere I was received by the English settlers with great kindness and even gratitude. They felt thankful to the man, previously wholly unknown to them, who had come to them in their rude and hardly-formed homes in the wilderness, to preach among them the “glorious Gospel of the blessed God.”

In some of the locations I found several who had been Methodists in England, and a few of whom had wisely brought with them their proper credentials as such. These individuals, among whom there were two or three Local Preachers, became valuable assistants, and greatly aided me in establishing regular opportunities for public worship in the more central portions of the locations. One of these zealous Local Preachers was the late Mr. Pike. He came with what was called the "Nottingham party." The arrangements with Government, for sending out this party of about fifty families, were conducted by an agent appointed under the auspices of the Duke of Newcastle, who had generously aided some of them in emigrating to the Cape, with the view of improving their circumstances. At a meeting of these settlers before they left England, a Clergyman very properly recommended to the head of the party that on Sundays prayers, and occasionally a sermon, should be read for the benefit of the people. But a service conducted by an irreligious person was not likely to be conducive to much edification. A young man imbued with religious feeling, therefore, ventured to inquire whether he might be permitted to conduct religious services with such as were disposed to unite with him. The mere inquiry was sufficient to arouse the spirit of bigotry. On close examination, he was induced honestly to avow, that he was a "Methodist;" and he was at once informed he could not be permitted to proceed with the settlers to South Africa. However, there were others whose names had been included in the list of accepted persons, who had been accustomed to attend the Methodist preaching; but they kept their counsel as to their religious predilections.

Among these was Mr. Pike, who, being a devout man, and having occasionally preached or exhorted in the villages near his residence, felt constrained, soon after the vessel sailed from England, "to speak and to teach" among his fellow emigrants "the things concerning the kingdom of God." The appointed "head" of the party, and others like-minded, persecuted this good man for his attempts to promote a spirit of piety among the settlers; and perhaps the more bitterly, because the great pains taken to shut out Methodists from any connexion with this body of settlers had thus been rendered utterly futile. In the course of events, the nominal head of the party died at Algoa Bay, and thus never reached the place of location, which the people, from a becoming feeling of gratitude to the Duke of Newcastle, called "Clumber." The other persecutors of Mr. Pike were successively removed by death in a very remarkable manner; and as there was no longer any "let or hindrance," he commenced regular religious services in a wood close to his tent. After he had erected his first rude dwelling, he opened it for worship. His simple piety and manifest godly sincerity won for him the love of his fellow settlers; and they actually elected him as the nominal head of the party, and he became the friend and counsellor of the people. By the aid of his influence, and the co-operation of the comparatively large congregation which speedily grew up at this place, we were enabled to erect a suitable chapel, which stands on a beautiful natural mount, in a most picturesque valley, and, being centrally situated, has long been one of our best attended places of worship. This excellent man died many years ago; and his remains lie interred in the burial ground attached to

the chapel, to the erection of which his piety and zeal contributed so greatly.

On my earliest visits to the various locations, we worshipped God under the shade of the spreading trees, or shelter of the rocks, whenever the company was too large to find room in the settler's tent or hut. Gradually the people built more or less commodious dwellings for themselves, as described in a previous chapter; and in several places they erected buildings of similar materials for the purposes of public worship. There was very little money among them in those days; hence the original chapels, which served their purpose very well for a time, were generally erected by the joint labour of their own hands. As the settlers rose to circumstances of greater comfort, and built more substantial dwellings for themselves, they began to feel that it was not seemly for them "to dwell in ceiled houses," while "God's house" was comparatively a "waste;" hence they provided means, "and went up to the mountain, and brought wood to build the house;" for they believed that which is written to be applicable to *every* house of prayer where God's word is truly preached, and His holy sacraments are rightly and duly administered: "I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord." The result was, that in course of years the Methodist settlers, and those who wished to worship with them, erected, at considerable cost and labour, a number of substantial chapels in various parts of the settlement; which, being in localities distant from the towns, formed the only places of worship to which the scattered people could resort for the public service of God. They were generally well placed in elevated and picturesque spots; and many of the settlers learned to

say, with feelings of true devotion, concerning these humble temples of God's grace,—

“O happy souls that pray
 Where God delights to hear!
 O happy men that pay
 Their constant service there!
 They praise Thee still; and happy they
 Who love the way to Sion's hill!”

Chapels of this class were erected by the settlers at Clumber, (Nottingham party,) Green Fountain, Ebenezer, (James party,) Traape's Valley, Bathurst, Port Frances, Reed Fountain, Collingham, Manley's Flat, Seven Fountains. All these places of worship, situated in various parts of the District of Lower Albany, were well attended during the earlier period of the Settlement; but the gradual migration of the population to other portions of the Eastern Province has rendered some of them, for the present, unnecessary; and public worship is now only continued in those chapels that are in the most central localities with reference to the existing diminished population of that part of Albany.

It soon became apparent to me, that unless the Methodist Mission could be made to bear upon the European population, consisting of the military in Graham's Town and the out-posts, and the great body of the English settlers, they were likely to remain almost entirely without the means of religious instruction and consolation, in the wild and desolate region in which, by the providence of God, their lot was cast. There was only one Clergyman (the Rev. Mr. Boardman) connected with any of the parties of settlers; and he did not feel himself called upon to itinerate so as to

provide for the regular religious instruction of those who were not included amongst the people (Wilson's party) whom he regarded as his special charge. The troops, consisting of English and natives, had no Chaplain. The London Missionary Society, indeed, had a few years before established a Missionary Station (Theopolis) in the district; but this was for the exclusive benefit of its Hottentot residents; and as that Society, pursuing what I must ever regard as a very mistaken course of action for any Missionary Society having Missions in our Colonies, did not allow its Missionaries to devote any systematic labours for the benefit of European colonists,—the Missionaries at Theopolis did not consider themselves to be at liberty to attempt the formation of congregations among the settlers. Hence it became evident, that unless I made great efforts to extend the benefits of the Wesleyan Mission to the white population,—at that time the most neglected people in the Colony,—there was no hope that their case would receive speedy attention from any other quarter. I therefore worked hard, and I was constantly either in the saddle, or walking on foot, to visit the various parts of my extended sphere of labour.

In order to give greater solidity and effect to the labours of the Methodists, after I had personally visited all I could find, I arranged for a general meeting to be held at Salem, so as to bring the people into acquaintance with each other, and to produce among them a sympathy of feeling, and unity of action; hoping that, by a proper organization, their efforts in various ways, and in all parts of the settlement, might, under the Divine blessing, tell with greater and more permanent

effect, than could otherwise be expected. The church arrangements of the Methodist system afford peculiar advantages for missionary action, especially among the scattered population of the Colonies; and although the obstacles were neither few nor small in bringing this system into full operation, yet I hoped, by introducing the most earnest of the people to each other, to unite them as one faithful band of "witnesses" for God, each acting, in his own neighbourhood, for the spiritual welfare of those living within reach. The following extract from my Journal shows the nature and extent of my labours at this period. The entry under date January 2nd, 1821, was made when we had been about six months in the country, and shows that the plan adopted for bringing the most active and intelligent of the people together was productive of resolves which led, in due season, to important practical results.

"Christmas Day, 1820.—Held a Prayer-meeting at five o'clock this morning. The power of God was present. Preached at ten: after dinner, rode to Graham's Town, completely wet on the way by a heavy rain: preached in the evening at Mr. Lucas's, to about twenty persons, in English; and immediately after, at their own request, to about the same number of Hottentots, in Dutch. One of them prayed after my sermon, and it affected me to my very soul to hear him cry out with peculiar earnestness, '*O Heere, zend leeraar voor ons arme Heidenen!*' 'O Lord, send a teacher for us poor Heathen!' meaning one who should reside among them, and give them instruction regularly. I am told that the number of Hottentots in the army stationed here, including their wives and children, and those who live as servants in the town, is scarcely less than *one*

thousand souls! These are all as sheep without a shepherd, and most of them have come from some of the various Missionary establishments; but alas! in Graham's Town there is *no Minister*, not even for the Europeans; and both classes, generally speaking, (what marvel?) are sunk very low in drunkenness, lewdness, and many other deadly sins.

"January 2nd, 1821.—According to appointment, a wagon-load of our friends arrived from various settlements, and this evening we held a meeting for the purpose of forming a Sunday School Society, for promoting the establishment of Sunday Schools throughout the whole District of Albany. Many judicious and pious remarks were made on the subject by various friends; and so strong a feeling was excited in favour of those institutions, as will, I doubt not, issue in an extensive establishment of a system of education most admirably adapted to the circumstances of the rising generation in an infant colony. It appeared from the reports, that three schools already exist: one at Salem, one at Green Fountain, and one at Somerset Place, which contain, in all, one hundred and thirty-six scholars; of whom six are Dutch, ten Hottentots, and the rest children of the English settlers.

"3rd.—This day being appointed for our Quarterly Meeting, I preached at nine; immediately after which we held a Love-feast: a more interesting and affecting detail of Christian experience I never heard given on any occasion. After dinner, the temporal business of the Circuit was transacted by the Leaders, Stewards, &c. It appeared that there was a small increase in the Society, which now amounts to one hundred and fifteen members. It was determined to build a small chapel at

New Bristol immediately, and also at Graham's Town and Green Fountain, as soon as the way appears open. I met the Local Preachers, of whom there are ten, including those admitted on trial. They are full of zeal; and for sense and piety are not, I am persuaded, inferior to those of the greater part of our country Circuits in England. It was intended for three of them to have addressed us in the evening; but Mr. Barker, of Bethelsdorp, arriving at tea-time, on his return from Theopolis, where he had been to see Mr. Ullbright, who is at the point of death, I engaged him to preach; and he delivered a sensible and useful sermon before the largest congregation of Europeans ever seen before in the District of Albany. After sermon, I renewed the covenant, and administered the sacrament to upwards of eighty persons, who remained together for that purpose. Through the whole of these meetings, an extraordinary degree of seriousness, spirituality, and fervour was evident; and all agreed in opinion, that these were presages of good days to come. Even so, LORD JESUS!

"I ride every other week upwards of one hundred and thirty miles, and must in future regularly preach eight times during my round, independent of my Sabbath labours at home, and occasional labours in other places; but, after all, I cannot go to many who are saying, 'Come and help us.' I should desire occasionally to go to the frontier, the Keiskamma, where there are upwards of a thousand British soldiers without any Chaplain; and also to visit Brintjes Hootge, the inland boundary of the district, where there is a considerable population of Dutch and Hottentots without a Minister. I am anxious to visit Somerset, where I hear a number

of people are collected together, and to preach regularly on the Sabbath at Graham's Town, and some other places; but I can only be at one place at a time. Allow me then to entreat you, if you have not yet done it, to send a zealous, lively Missionary to my assistance: there is work for more than another Missionary in the District, and I hope we should be able to help considerably in supporting him."

My earliest visit to Graham's Town, destined to be the future metropolis of the Eastern Province, was made in the month of August, 1820. I have already described its aspect at this time. It was chiefly a military station, and head-quarters of the troops, which the Kaffirs had boldly attacked in the previous year, and—by a clever surprise, conducted by overwhelming numbers, with great bravery, storming the *cannon*, hastily run out against them—very nearly secured a triumph over the small detachment of troops that were on the spot at the moment to resist them. The arrival of the British settlers soon gave an impetus to the place, and, as already stated, its population began to increase. Several mechanics and others from Salem, and various parts of the settlement, sought and found employment in this place, and, being added to the military, formed an aggregate population that greatly needed religious ordinances, while, as stated in the above extract from my Journal, there was neither church nor chapel, nor a resident Minister of any denomination. I, therefore, at once resolved to put Graham's Town on my Circuit Plan, as a place to be visited by myself and the Local Preachers, as frequently as possible.

A reference is made, in the above extract from my

Journal, to my having preached at the house of Mr. Lucas on Christmas day, 1820. I had already preached in his house several times before. He was a Sergeant-Major in the Cape Corps Cavalry; and, together with a comrade, Sergeant-Major Price, of the same regiment, received me on all my earliest visits to Graham's Town with the heartiest welcome and greatest kindness. There is reason to believe that some officers and soldiers of the celebrated Roman legion which held possession of Great Britain for so long a period during the first centuries of the Christian era, were greatly instrumental in the introduction of Christianity among the ancient Britons, long before the time when Augustine reached these shores as a Missionary from Rome to the Saxon race, then settled in Kent. It is surprising how frequently evidence may be traced in ecclesiastical history of the devotion and zeal of Christian soldiers. There have been at all times, in a profession not usually regarded as favourable to piety, "Centurions" who have feared God and worked righteousness; and "devout soldiers," who have gladly attended upon Ministers to receive religious instruction and consolation, and to aid in the propagation of the truth.

It has already been shown, in a previous chapter, that it was owing to the representations of a considerable number of Methodist soldiers in the army, serving at the Cape, that the first Methodist Missionary was sent to Southern Africa; and the two excellent men whose names I have recorded above, were themselves of that religious Society when stationed near Cape Town. They were both converted, and became decidedly religious men, under the preaching of Sergeant Kendrick, of the Twenty-first Light Dragoons, to whom refer-

ence has already been made. When removed to the frontier on military service, they often mourned their entire separation from all the public means; but they maintained their character as good men and smart soldiers. On my first visiting them at the East Barracks, they were overjoyed to receive a Methodist Missionary. Arrangements were immediately made for establishing preaching in one of their rooms in the barracks; and as Sergeant-Major Lucas, being a married man, was already building himself a house outside the walls of the garrison, he took care to have one large room, in which a considerable number of persons could assemble to hear the Gospel preached. These first services were soon attended by as many as could find accommodation; and it was known that certain commissioned officers, being either ashamed to enter a Methodist Meeting, or, perhaps, afraid lest sitting in a Sergeant-Major's quarters, amongst a mixed concourse of private soldiers and civilians, might be deemed altogether incompatible with military regulations, used to indulge their curiosity, or seek religious edification, by listening to the preacher while standing outside near the door or windows. Thus was Methodism, and through its means "earnest Christianity," indebted for its introduction into Graham's Town, under hopeful circumstances, to the piety and zeal of these religious soldiers. In how many other places, both at home and abroad, have the character and efforts of the same class of men contributed greatly to advance the interests of religion! I therefore rejoice in the deep interest which has latterly been awakened amongst the Methodist public in England on behalf of the religious interests of the army. As a professedly Christian people, we have done no

more than our duty in the erection of the handsome church at Aldershot, and the appointment of a resident Chaplain at that place. These arrangements, it is hoped, will be followed by more systematic efforts on the part of Wesleyan Ministers, in all the garrisons of the empire, for the promotion of the moral and spiritual benefit of the army. We owe this as a debt for the many benefits conferred on Methodism and its Missions by pious officers and soldiers in all parts of the world, from the days of John Haime, who, with other Methodist soldiers, was present at the memorable battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and was afterwards, for many years, a man of mark among the early Methodist Preachers;—of Captain Webb, who, when in active service, was one of the earliest and most conspicuous instruments in the introduction of Methodism into what were at that time the British Provinces of America, which has issued in the formation of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, the largest “voluntary” and united Church that the world has yet seen;—and of many others, who might be named, down to the present times. There exist abundant materials for a most interesting and instructive volume, which might be written under the title of “Methodism in the Army;” and I hope that some competent hand may be induced to undertake this labour of love. But I must leave this topic,—not, however, without offering my humble prayer that these renewed and extended efforts for the spiritual welfare of our brave soldiers may be greatly honoured and prospered by the blessing of the Divine Master!

In the course of a few months it was found that the room in Mr. Lucas’s house was too small to admit the

increasing numbers who wished to attend the services; and the East Barracks being a mile distant from the town, its locality was inconvenient for the storekeepers, tradespeople, and their families, who wished to attend. I therefore hired a large room in the High Street, which had been used as a mess-room by the officers of the Royal African Corps, now about to be disbanded. Here we continued to worship with overflowing congregations for some months longer. The building was at length sold, and the congregation could then only obtain accommodation for a time in a carpenter's shop, belonging to one of our people on Settlers' Hill. This was, however, so small and inconvenient, that we were glad, after a time, to obtain the use, for Sunday services, of a good-sized building which had been erected to accommodate a so-called Odd Fellows' Lodge. Meantime, I had felt constrained to take measures for the erection of a chapel. I memorialized the Government for the grant of a piece of ground on which to build a place of worship; but although my application had the approval of the deputy Landdrost or Magistrate of the district, so many delays and difficulties were raised by the chief functionaries at Cape Town, that I resolved to cut the matter short, by purchasing a plot of ground for the purpose, in the best place which at the time I could find for sale; for there were not then many willing to sell who were able to give a legal title to their property.

The following extract from my Journal, dated exactly one year after our arrival at Algoa Bay, explains my views and feelings at this period concerning the erection of our first chapel in Graham's Town. The first portion of the extract, in reviewing the state of affairs in

the Settlement, contains both light and shade, and expresses my joys and griefs, my hopes and fears, as a Minister of the Gospel.

“This is the anniversary of our landing at Algoa Bay. The review fills me with astonishment. Within one year desert and solitary places have been peopled by a multitude of men ; to make room for whom, even the beasts of the field have very evidently retreated from their ancient haunts ; houses have arisen, and villages sprung into existence, as if by magic ; hundreds of acres of land, which had hitherto lain untilled, have been disturbed by the plough, and the clods torn to pieces by the harrow ; but what is better than all, many of those hills and dales, which echoed with no other music than the dreary screams of the jackal, the harsh croaking of the frog, or the dissonant notes of the raven, now resound with the praises of the Saviour. But while I view these things with satisfaction and delight, I must confess those feelings are mingled with regret and sorrow, that so little actual spiritual good has been done. The leaven of preaching, Prayer-meetings, and Sunday Schools has been introduced among a considerable number of the settlers ; but the trials, cares, and vicissitudes which always attend the first adventurers in a new Colony, have hitherto counteracted its influence, and too generally produced worldly-mindedness, violation of the Sabbath, and an awful disrelish for the solemnities of religion. While, however, these circumstances tend to humble me in the dust, as having been so far unsuccessful, they are at the same time loud calls upon me for increased diligence ; and I trust I can say, I am resolved to spend, and be spent, in the service of my God, and in promoting

the spiritual benefit of all to whom I can obtain access.

“A strong sense of duty has urged me to visit other settlements, and Graham’s Town, over and above what are considered as the demands of regular performance of duty at my proper Station. I am aware that if a chapel is built, service must be held on the Lord’s day ; but I am living in hopes of seeing another Missionary shortly, by whose assistance this may be effected. Indeed, such is the desire of the people for a chapel and a Missionary, that I have, as it were, been compelled to open a subscription for that purpose, which already amounts to a handsome sum for an African village ; and I have no doubt of raising at least one half, if not three fourths, of the money necessary to build a convenient and decent place of worship ; the rest, I have reason to believe, may be borrowed. Should we succeed, (and why should we not ?) in forming a chain of Mission Stations among the numerous heathen nations who inhabit the eastern coast of this continent, then the importance of a good Mission establishment in this District will be fully acknowledged.

“I trust, if you have not yet sent me help, you will consider these circumstances, as well as that we are about shortly to build a chapel in Graham’s Town, the largest town in the district, a place where there is *no* place of worship and *no* Minister ; and that there are several thousands of souls who, as far as I can see at present, must live without the means of grace, unless you send them one of those many soldiers of the cross, who are only waiting their destination from you.”

The erection of our first Chapel in Graham’s Town, although a plain call of duty, involved me in no small

perplexity. In a country where there are many "well-wishers," but few having means to render much aid in such a work, he who commences chapel-building must needs take considerable responsibility upon himself. As the chapel was to be for the use of an English congregation, I knew the Missionary Society would not be likely, if requested, to grant any sum in aid of the undertaking. Nothing remained but that I must beg from all who were willing to give. A considerable number of persons subscribed small sums, as much, indeed, as generally they were at that time able to contribute; for money was scarce, and the country was then very poor. The building and land cost about £500, and first and last, with continuous effort, I was enabled to raise about one half the money; and, with no small difficulty, the remainder was borrowed at interest, till the income from pew-rents and collections should in time pay off the debt. When I laid the foundation-stone, with prayers and tears, in the midst of some fifty or sixty persons, I had but half-a-crown in my pocket, and only a number of promises of support, which were yet to be realized. But it was God's cause, and was committed to His gracious Providence, in humble trust that the zealous efforts we intended to make in raising the requisite means, would be crowned with success. While the building progressed, I was often in great straits to find money to meet the just demands of the builders. I frequently had to pay the cost of materials out of my own small allowances, and thus deprive myself and family, for a time, of many of what are called the necessities of life. And here I rejoice to have an opportunity of recording, with grateful remembrance, the temporary assistance I occasionally received

in the extremity of my difficulties from the late Adjutant Macdonald and his wife ; for when I could do no more, they lent or procured for me temporary loans of small sums, which helped me over these first difficulties. Messrs. Lucas, Price, and Macdonald, all belonged to the army : the last-named, with his wife, had received spiritual benefit from our ministrations, and joined our Church in Graham's Town. They were all liberal contributors to this first chapel. All of them have departed this life, and I trust have long ago discovered that the Saviour's promise, while it is generally fulfilled even in the present time, is realized in its utmost extent in that happy world to which, through His merits, they have been introduced : " Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in My name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward."

I trust that this record of my early difficulties in chapel-building will not be cited by any as a justification of rash speculations of that kind. The case was peculiar. In the *same* circumstances I know not that I should another time pursue a different course : but if any will plead this case as a precedent to warrant rash and inconsiderate plunging into pecuniary embarrassments in the erection of chapels, where the call is less clear, and the ultimate prospect of success is much more doubtful, I would remind such persons that the result proved that all was right in this instance. No permanent embarrassment was the result. We have always met our engagements ; and although we subsequently built some much larger and more costly chapels, for which, at times, we had to borrow thousands of pounds, yet we were enabled to obtain these large loans with far greater ease and facility than sums of ten or twenty pounds

were at first borrowed. It is to me a great satisfaction to reflect that in all our chapel affairs connected with that country, no one has ever lost any money ; nor has any person ever been compelled to pay any deficiency to meet obligations on account of our chapels, beyond such sums as have been from time to time voluntarily and cheerfully contributed by a liberal people.

The foundation stone of the first Wesleyan chapel in Graham's Town, referred to above, was laid on December 5th, 1821. The following entries in my Journal will best state my feelings and views at that time concerning this event.

"October 16th, 1821.—At length I have succeeded in purchasing an eligible plot of ground, for the erection of a chapel at Graham's Town. It has brought upon my mind a burden which I would gladly have avoided ; but the step has not been taken without much prayer and due respect to the advice of the town clerk of Ephesus, 'Do nothing rashly.'

"December 5th.—This morning I had the satisfaction of laying the foundation-stone of the new chapel at Graham's Town. Prayer was offered to God for His blessing. Although Graham's Town has had a considerable population, English, Dutch, and Hottentot, for some time, yet I found on my arrival no place of worship in it whatever, nor any public recognition of the being of God. Of course morals were at a standard extremely low. Some alteration for the better has at length taken place. We have now a regular and decent congregation ; and I trust, if God enable us to lay on the top-stone of the new chapel, much more good will be done ; and especially when a Missionary shall arrive to take up his abode in the town."

An extract from a letter, written to the Missionary Committee at this time, gives a general view of the nature of my occupations, and a *hint* of some of the personal inconveniences which the circumstances of the country at that time rendered unavoidable.

“October 12th, 1821.—My engagements are so multifarious, that I am almost worn down. Owing to the scattered state of the population, my rides are very long; and the sun is sometimes very oppressive. Being alone, I have not time to recruit before I set off on another journey; I am only at home now six days out of fourteen. Besides my regular work, my hands are now full with the concerns of two chapels: one (already commenced) at Salem; the other (which will commence building in two or three weeks) at Graham’s Town. As we have not active persons with whom these matters can be left, I am obliged to see after all myself; in addition to all which, I am working with my hands, when at home, at our dwelling-house: but I trust, through Divine assistance, all these matters will be accomplished in a few months; only I hope we shall not be disappointed in receiving a Missionary from England in a short time, as Graham’s Town must be regularly supplied. The inhabitants have subscribed liberally to the chapel: the Landdrost has put his name on my subscription list; and other gentlemen are equally favourable. I preach to the Hottentots in Graham’s Town regularly; we had six of them at a Class-Meeting last week. You would have been delighted to see the tears rolling down their cheeks, and to hear them speak their experience, and express their thankfulness for the good word of God.

“Referring to the affairs of the settlers, it gives me

great pleasure to inform you that they are still strangers to many of those miseries which were reasonably anticipated. The kindness of the Government continues to display itself, in a most abundant attention to their various wants. It is true, we have all suffered considerably in consequence of the failure of the last harvest: it was so general a failure in the Colony, that our dependence was almost entirely on foreign supplies; for the old Dutch colonists never keep a stock of corn by them as a reserve for an emergency. The consequence has been, that we have suffered considerable privation, as it regards bread and flour. My own family have, for the last ten months, had a very scanty supply; but, thank God, we have all had plenty of meat and milk,—as much of it as any of the settlers could possibly consume,—nay, even to spare; so that we have had better supplies than the first colonists of New South Wales, who, on the failure of some of their early harvests, had not the resource of hundreds of oxen, and thousands, yea, ten thousands, of sheep. I am, however, sorry to have to inform you, that there are evident appearances, in the standing corn, of a blight similar to that of last year.

“Salem continues to be the most promising settlement in the whole district: this is admitted by all who have seen it. I am engaged, during the whole of the few days I am at home, in giving such advices as are necessary to the welfare of the people; working at my own house and garden, settling disputes, (which, as might be expected, frequently occur,) and preaching and teaching. I have not been without my difficulties. A few individuals I have found to be obstinate and quarrelsome; and I have had some trouble with such,

on account of my endeavouring to keep as close as possible by the established rules of our Connexion ; but, to counterbalance this, the great majority are a respectful, peaceable, and loving people. I thank God, who has given me favour in the eyes of our rulers, which is of great advantage."

On New Year's Day, 1822, I laid the foundation-stone of a chapel at Salem. The congregation continued to worship in the old reed and pole house. But now we set about erecting a more substantial and commodious building. The people cut down some fine yellow-wood trees, that were growing in a part of their location ; where, also, they procured a sufficient supply of rushes for thatching : and thus, with great labour, a portion of the materials was collected. As very little money was at that time in the possession of the friends of this undertaking, and the mechanics were all employed in Graham's Town, it was resolved to erect the building in such a manner, that nearly all could aid by the work of their hands. The ground being suitable for the purpose, the walls, which were about two feet thick and very solid, were constructed of pounded earth, slightly sprinkled with water : the prepared clay, being shovelled, to the depth of a few inches, into a moveable wooden frame, which was about six feet long, and one foot in depth, was then beaten or rammed by an instrument like one of those used by paviours. When the frame was filled, and the clay had remained a short time therein, it acquired consistency, being bound together by a constant sprinkling of water, during the beating or ramming part of the process ; the frame was then removed further on the wall, to repeat the operation. The result was, that the walls were built in great

blocks of earth, instead of large blocks of stone. After a layer of earth had thus been carried all round the building, a day or two was suffered to pass before another was placed thereupon, and in that bright climate the action of the sun was sufficiently powerful to dry and harden the material. This building stood for about ten years; and when it was necessary to remove it, for the purpose of erecting a more suitable chapel, the clay walls were found to be so strong, that they occasioned much more labour to take down, than would have been required had the walls been made of brick or stone.

Many settlers and Missionaries built houses, during the early period of the Settlement, on a plan somewhat similar to what is called "Devonshire cob," of which many cottages in the south-western parts of England are erected. The process of building is, however, somewhat different to that just described; as, on this plan, the clay is well saturated with water, just as if bricks were intended to be formed thereof; and it is then mixed with chopped straw or grass, and laid on in layers about six inches in depth all round the building, leaving it for some days, till all is thoroughly dried by the sun, and ready to receive another layer, when the operation is repeated till the walls are raised to the required height. I have entered thus into detail because it is possible that this book may be read by some future Missionary or settler, who may be placed in similar circumstances; and when a *substantial* building is required, where no masons or bricklayers are to be had, or where their wages would exceed the available means, I can recommend walls, built on either of the above principles, as likely to meet the necessities of the case; since they require no

mechanical skill, beyond taking care to keep the walls upright, while in process of erection.

Having commenced building the chapels at Graham's Town and Salem, and being still engaged in my regular itinerating visits to various parts of the Settlement, I was very fully occupied. I was, however, at that time a very young man; and my abundant horse exercise, and other out-door employments, probably tended to give vigour to my constitution, which was originally not very strong. I had very little time or opportunity for reading or study; and in a land where there were no booksellers, the opportunities of adding to my stock of books, at this period, were few and far between. It may be, however, that this necessity drove me to study more closely than I otherwise might have done, the small collection of standard works on theology and history which I possessed. Most of my sermons were studied on horseback, and, however defective in both matter and style, yet as they were generally adapted to the religious and varied circumstances of the people, in the absence of a better furnished and more competent Ministry, they were usually well received. All classes of the community were accustomed to attend the services, and I had reason to feel grateful that the great Head of the Church was pleased to use me as an instrument for the conversion of sinners and the confirmation of the souls of His saints. But it was not possible that I could give sufficient attention to the various places which required pastoral care.

The Local Preachers whose names I had introduced into the *first* Circuit Plan, were resident in various parts of the Settlement; viz., at Salem, Messrs. Oates and Roberts; at Smith's party, near the mouth of the

Kowie River, Mr. Richard Walker; at Wilson's party, Mr. J. Ayliff; at New Bristol location, Mr. Shepstone; and at Clumber, the Nottingham party, Mr. W. Pike. I only mention the names of such as still continue, or of those who were accredited Preachers at the time of their decease. Some of those who were admitted on the first Plan, had been accredited Local Preachers before they left England; others had only occasionally conducted Prayer-meetings, and delivered exhortations in workhouses, hospitals, and cottages; but in the moral destitution of the Settlement, I found them all work to do, in promoting the religious welfare of the people; and our small Societies and congregations were greatly indebted to the zealous and laborious efforts of these brethren, who helped me much in the Lord. At a subsequent period two of them, Messrs. Ayliff and Shepstone, were introduced into our regular Ministry, and have proved themselves eminently faithful and useful Missionaries among the heathen tribes of Southern Africa, while another of their number, Mr. Richard Walker, as a Catechist or Assistant Missionary, has rendered very valuable service for many years past on more than one of our Stations among the native tribes. From a variety of causes the original number of Local Preachers whose services could be rendered available was diminished at a very early period: hence I wrote with earnestness and frequency to the Missionary Committee, to send at least one Missionary to aid me in my work.

I was, however, grievously disappointed about this time. The Rev. Joseph Taylor had informed me by letter, that a Missionary had been directed to proceed from Cape Town to assist me in Albany; but very soon after I had been cheered with this intelligence, I learned by a letter

from Cape Town, that, previously to the arrival of these instructions, Mr. K., the Missionary referred to, had been sent off to the Bechuana Country, in company with Mr. Melville, a gentleman who was going to that region in the capacity of a government agent, and who had resigned a highly respectable and lucrative office in Cape Town, that he might go to the far interior, hoping thereby to promote the great work of Missions beyond the Orange River; and although the Rev. T. L. Hodgson had just arrived from England, yet I was informed that he had come out with a special appointment for Cape Town, and I must therefore wait some other favourable opportunity before I could obtain help in Albany. This was very trying, but Divine Providence soon relieved me from my difficulties, and sent me helpers for the work wherein I was engaged. The Missionary Committee, finding that I had been thus disappointed, promptly sent out for Albany the Rev. William Threlfall, a young man of deep piety and ardent missionary zeal, who reached Salem in May, 1822.

I had previously paid a visit to Somerset and Graaff Reinett; the former being about ninety, and the latter one hundred and seventy, miles north of Salem. I visited Somerset at the special invitation of R. Hart, Esq., who had been an officer in the Cape Regiment, but was now the superintendent of an extensive farming establishment conducted for the Colonial Government, with a view to raise supplies of grain and cattle for the troops on the frontier. After a few years the British settlers were in a position to contract for these supplies, and consequently this establishment was superseded, and the place became a town, the head of a district, and residence of its Local Magistrate and Civil

Commissioner. On this my first visit I was received with great kindness and hospitality by Mr. and Mrs. Hart, and was happy in the opportunity of preaching the Gospel to many who had long been deprived of the means of grace, including a considerable number of what were called "Prize Negroes,"—persons who had been found in the Portuguese slave vessels when captured by our cruisers on the coast. When this Government farm was broken up, these people were free to go where they pleased. Many of them ultimately settled in Graham's Town, where they subsequently formed an interesting part of one of our native congregations. Leaving Somerset, I proceeded through a wild-looking country, at that time having very few inhabitants, at least along the road, to Graaff Reinett, where I was received with much brotherly feeling and courtesy by the Rev. A. Faure, the resident Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, but now and for many years past the senior Minister of that Church in Cape Town. The main object of this journey was for observation, and to see what openings there were likely to be in that direction for extending our missionary operations when I should be reinforced by the arrival of other Missionaries. It did not appear to me that we should, at that period, be justified in attempting more in that direction, than visiting Somerset at regular intervals, should the arrival of additional Missionaries render it practicable. Graaff Reinett possessed in Mr. Faure an excellent Minister of the Gospel, who was assisted in the religious instruction of the slaves of the town by a person whom he employed for that purpose; but at Somerset, and in all the surrounding region, there was no Minister of any denomination.

The Missionary already mentioned, as having proceeded with Mr. Melville to the Bechuana country, reached Latakoo, the Station of the London Missionary Society, where the justly-honoured Mr. Moffatt had very recently established his residence. After remaining some time at this place, and making some journeys of observation in the neighbourhood, he was discouraged by unfavourable circumstances, and therefore failed to commence a Mission. The Rev. S. Broadbent, having proceeded by another route to join him, was seized with dangerous illness, and was obliged in consequence to return to Graaff Reinett, for medical advice and repose. On their arrival at this place, the two Missionaries consulted me; and while Mr. Broadbent was advised to remain and recruit his health, Mr. K., at my request, came to Albany, where he had been previously appointed to labour by the Missionary Secretaries in London. On his arrival at Salem we were comparatively strong. I requested him to take up his residence in Graham's Town, and Mr. Threlfall continued to reside with me. And we were now for some time in a position to carry on our missionary operations with vigour at Graham's Town, Salem, and all parts of Albany, including Somerset.

We all took part in the opening services of the first chapel at Graham's Town, which was dedicated to the service of God on Sunday, November 10th, 1822; and also at Salem, where the chapel was opened for worship, December 31st, 1822. A letter which I wrote about three months afterwards, will explain my views and feelings on the general affairs of the Mission at this period.

"SALEM, *March 29th*, 1823.—We are making some

small progress on this Circuit, chiefly in matters preparatory, and in securing a foundation for a permanent work in Albany. The Graham's Town chapel, which is a neat and substantial stone building, was opened on the 10th of November last. I preached in the morning; Mr. Kay in the afternoon, in Dutch; and Mr. Threlfall in the evening. Mr. Barker, the London Society's Missionary, assisted in the services, and preached on the next evening, (Monday,) on which day we held a Love-feast in the chapel, and had a good season. One thing that contributed to make it more than ordinarily interesting was, the presence of several of our Hottentot Society, who spoke with considerable propriety and feeling of the work of God in their souls. Mr. Barker, who favoured us with his presence on this occasion also, was requested to interpret, for the benefit of the English persons present, what was said by the Hottentots in Dutch. All, of every class, were much gratified and, I trust, edified on the occasion. For my own part I cannot describe what I felt while sitting in the pulpit, and beholding before me Europeans and Africans in a mixed group, formerly so rare a sight in this Colony,—hearing them tell, each in his own tongue, the wonderful dealings of God towards them; and this in a chapel which had cost me no common pains and perplexity in erecting, owing to a variety of circumstances, which I could neither foresee nor control. When I considered how God had blessed, in the short space of about two years, our small and obscure beginning in Graham's Town, I indeed 'thanked God, and took courage.' It was mentioned at the opening, as a motive for those present to give something more than on any common occasion, that this chapel is the first substantial

building ever erected for the worship of God in the whole of the important and rising District of Albany. I feel the more sincere gratitude to those friends who, by affording their pecuniary aid, enabled us to effect this important and new thing in Graham's Town. A few individuals, whose names I would mention, but that they love to do good in private, rendered us the most praiseworthy assistance. The chapel has been well attended ever since it was opened: all the pews are let, and more are erecting, to give additional accommodation to the persons not yet provided with seats. I hope much good will be done in that chapel to those who attend.

"We commenced a Sunday-school in Graham's Town immediately after the chapel was opened, in which there are about sixty scholars. We need very much a building for a school-house and chapel, for the Hottentots of Graham's Town, to be erected near the barracks. A great and good work might be done among them, if this were effected; but we cannot expect much without we have such a place. About five hundred rix-dollars have been subscribed, principally by the Hottentots themselves, towards this object; but we cannot enter upon it until we receive your reply to our request in the annual Minutes sent home two months ago, for a grant of fifty pounds to aid us in carrying into execution our plan.

"The Salem chapel was opened on the 31st of December, when brother Threlfall preached, and we held a Watch-night. On the 1st of January, Mr. Barker, of Theopolis, preached, and Mr. K. in the evening. Every one was affected with the consideration that a Christian congregation was now assembled, in a

commodious and substantial place of worship, where, less than three years ago, the silence of the desert was undisturbed by the exercise of Divine worship. I hope this chapel will prove a blessing to future generations. It has cost me a great deal of trouble, as I had personally to superintend the building in its progress; but the poor people have helped as far as their peculiar circumstances and poverty would allow. At one end of the building a school-room is partitioned off: we have fitted it up with desks, &c., in a convenient manner; and, through the medium of H. Rivers, Esq., our Landdrost, I have prevailed on the Governor to appoint Mr. Matthews (mentioned in a former letter) to be school-master to the settlers at Salem and its neighbourhood, with a salary from the Colonial Government, the only instance of the kind as yet in Albany. Thus our people will have the benefit of a free day-school, as well as Sunday-school, for their children.

“The settlers are still in general greatly depressed, in consequence of the failure of their successive crops: only one kind of wheat, called Bengal, has as yet succeeded; but that does very well, as do rye, barley, and oats. I have procured a quantity of the Bengal wheat for seed for our people, and I hope they will have better success this year. They are just beginning to plough. There has been, in many peculiar cases, very great distress among them; but when I think upon the accounts from Ireland, the distress among the settlers appears comparatively nothing. I speak generally; for I know, as hinted above, there have occurred some very distressing cases among the settlers. I have myself distributed aid to a considerable amount in a variety of such cases; which have arisen most frequently from accidental causes,

and things more immediately connected with an infant state of society."

The Mission in Albany now assumed a regular and settled form. The congregations steadily increased, and our prospects of usefulness were very pleasing. We felt, however, that although there was full work for two men, we were hardly justified in retaining three on the ground at that time, since very little could be expected from the people, to aid in defraying the cost of such a staff of Missionaries. I had been some time desirous of visiting Kaffraria, to see whether there was any opening for the establishment of a Mission among that numerous but heathen and barbarous race of people. I will narrate, in the second part of this work, the steps that were taken, and which ultimately led to the commencement of a Wesleyan Mission in that country, at the end of the year 1823. As, however, there were difficulties which it took some time to remove, before we could commence the Kaffir Mission, my junior colleague, Mr. Threlfall, became somewhat impatient at the delay. He was dissatisfied with having to spend his time and strength almost exclusively in preaching to European settlers, since he had volunteered for the foreign department of ministerial labour, with a view to preaching the Gospel among the Heathen. I laboured to convince him that he was wrong in the view he took of our work in Albany, which, in my opinion, could not fail to be a great means of enabling us, at no distant date, to enter upon the difficult enterprise in Kaffraria, with much greater facilities and prospects of ultimate success, from our having a considerable body of European Christians so near, who would be likely to sympathize with us, and in various ways to aid our labours. We did not entirely

agree in opinion on these points ; but on all other subjects we were as one heart and soul. He was truly a holy and zealous young Minister ; and notwithstanding his disappointed feelings in being obliged to labour amongst European colonists, instead of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen, which he strongly desired, I must bear my testimony here, as I have done in other publications, to the earnestness with which he strove to win souls. His labours among the settlers were brief, but “he was a burning and shining light.” He was greatly loved and respected by them ; and not a few attributed chiefly to his pulpit and pastoral efforts their being aroused to a sense of the importance and value of real religion.

Mr. Threlfall’s views regarding the call of a Missionary in Africa, as being rather to labour among the Heathen than amongst professed Christians, had the entire sympathy, at that time, of the Rev. B. Shaw, who acted very much thereon in reference to the work at Cape Town, where the opportunities of gathering a considerable and influential English congregation were to some extent postponed in favour of efforts to collect a congregation of black and coloured people, to whom the Missionaries preached in the Dutch language. Perhaps, if I had not gone to South Africa as a Chaplain or Minister of a party of settlers, I might have adopted similar views ; but however this may be, I am fully satisfied by our past experience, that wherever there is a British Colony in juxtaposition with heathen tribes or natives, it will be our wisdom to provide for the spiritual wants of the Colonists, while at the same time we ought not to neglect taking earnest measures for the conversion of the Heathen.

This view of the matter is in strict accordance with the original intentions of the founders of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as may be seen by the second article of its "Laws and Regulations," which declares its object to be to systematize and give full effect to the exertions of all "who are friends to the conversion of the heathen world, *and to the preaching of the Gospel generally in foreign lands.*" In point of fact, at the time when the Society was founded, the Methodist Missions had been in operation for many years, and already included several important Stations among British Colonists; while the formation of the Society, as declared in the same article, was for the purpose of promoting "the support and enlargement of the Foreign Missions, which were first established by the REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A., the REV. THOMAS COKE, LL.D., and others, and which are now, or shall be from year to year, carried on under the sanction and direction of the Conference of the people called Methodists." In this respect the Wesleyan Missionary Society differs from most of the other modern Missionary Societies, whose efforts are limited to the extension of Christianity among the Heathen. I think it a subject of gratulation and thankfulness that by providential circumstances the Methodist Missions have been left entirely unfettered in the range of their operations; and the Missionaries rejoice that they have a message from God to all men. Whether to white or black, to bond or free, to European or Asiatic, American or African, they are alike at liberty to proclaim to all within their reach "a free, full, and present salvation." By a judicious administration of its affairs, the Society, however, expends only a limited portion of its funds for the support of Missions amongst

European colonists; and the grants in aid of Missions among them are merely continued so long as may be needed to afford opportunity for the colonial congregations to provide for the sustentation of their own Ministers and religious establishments.

It is a great charity to take the Gospel to our emigrant population in the Colonies in their early struggles. How many professed Christians and their children are thereby saved from degenerating into Heathenism! And surely this is no less an appropriate work for a Missionary Society than its unquestionable duty to strive to convert the Heathen to Christianity. What glorious results may be expected from these efforts, as the Colonies grow and expand into numerous peoples and nations! These colonial Missions have already been greatly owned of God; and the Society is even now reaping immense benefits, and enjoying extended facilities for the prosecution of its noble enterprises, from its having adopted the plan of sustaining Missions among the colonists. For this portion of our Missionary operations more than one analogy may be found in the New Testament. Our Saviour commanded His Apostles to go *first* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and while they afterwards joyfully acted on their extended commission to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, yet we learn from the sacred record of their labours, that in every city their ordinary custom was first to address themselves to the resident Jews or Jewish proselytes. In like manner our colonial Missions aim *first* at promoting the spiritual welfare of the Colonists, already possessing some knowledge of revealed religion, and with the hope that by awakening an earnest piety among them, they will as a natural consequence in due

season furnish both men and means to aid in the vigorous prosecution of the work of evangelizing the Heathen around them.

As the Rev. B. Shaw favoured Mr. Threlfall's views, at a time when the prospect of an early commencement of the proposed Kaffir Mission was somewhat clouded, I consented that he should leave Albany, and proceed to Cape Town. On his arrival in May, 1823, he was at once introduced to Captain Owen of the Royal Navy, who had command of a surveying squadron employed on the Eastern Coast of Africa, and who offered to take him in H.M. frigate the "Leven," and put him ashore at Delagoa Bay, where Captain Owen represented that there was a most promising opening for a Mission. Mr. Threlfall without hesitation consented to go, and was eventually put on shore at the place indicated. There he remained about a year, living in the greatest discomfort in a very unhealthy climate, and was finally brought away, in what was considered to be a dying state, by the Captain of a whaling vessel. After he reached Cape Town, his health somewhat improved. He was then sent, at his own request, to our Station at Khamies Berg, Namaqualand, which being an elevated and salubrious region, the climate in a short time greatly renovated his health. After a time he started on a long and toilsome journey towards the country of the Great Namaquas and Damaras, on the Western Coast, among whom he hoped to preach the Gospel. He was accompanied by Jacob Links, an excellent native (Namaqua) Missionary. They were both attacked at night, while sleeping under a bush, and barbarously murdered by some miserable natives, for the purpose of plundering them of the few articles of food and other

necessaries which they had in their possession. Thus did the excellent Threlfall offer up his life in the service of the Gospel.

Before I removed from Albany to commence the Kaffir Mission, in the latter part of 1823, the chapel in Graham's Town, which had only been dedicated for worship about a year previously, had become much too small; and as the congregation had greatly increased, we found it much easier to obtain means for enlarging the building than for its original erection. We therefore resolved to add to the length of the chapel one half of its existing dimensions, and to introduce a gallery at one end. By these means it was rendered capable of holding twice the original number of worshippers. While this work was in progress, it was necessary for me to proceed beyond the borders of the Colony on my projected Mission: hence Mr. K. was unavoidably left alone for a few months, till the arrival of the Rev. Samuel Young, who was speedily sent out by the Missionary Committee, to occupy the vacant Station at Salem, and whose steady and judicious labours and conduct proved of the greatest service to the Mission in Albany. I remained in Kaffraria for six years, when I was removed at the request of my brethren, and by the appointment of the Missionary Committee and the Conference, to Graham's Town, where it was thought I might best serve the cause as the resident Minister and Chairman of the District, which at this time was becoming very much extended in its geographical limits. During the six years of my residence in Kaffraria, we were enabled, under the guidance and blessing of Divine Providence, to establish four important Missions among the Kaffirs, and other parts of the country were opening to our labours.

The Missionary Committee nobly sustained us at this period, by reinforcing our numbers from time to time. In the early part of the year 1830, the Rev. Messrs. Palmer, Boyce, and Cameron arrived. Mr. Palmer laboured diligently in Albany, and was very useful for about three years: he then proceeded to take charge of a Station in Kaffraria, where he prosecuted his work with most exemplary zeal and fidelity; and, after enduring much hardship, and encountering some serious dangers during two Kaffir wars, died suddenly while engaged in a noble and generous effort to secure the safe removal of the Missionaries and people of two Stations from a place where they were believed to be exposed to imminent peril of attack from exasperated foes. Messrs. Cameron and Boyce happily still survive; but although that circumstance restrains my pen, yet I cannot refrain from saying that Mr. Cameron, who is at present stationed in Cape Town, has fully developed the great ability and devoted piety of which he gave very early promise. He has laboured in the vineyard, both within the Colony and in the far interior; and beyond many is an able workman, rightly dividing the word of truth. The Rev. W. B. Boyce, after spending about thirteen years in Southern Africa, constrained by family reasons, returned to England; from whence, after two years, he proceeded, at the call of the Missionary Committee, to New South Wales, in the capacity of General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions. After a lengthened residence in that Colony, he took a distinguished part in preparing the way for the formation of the Australasian Conference, of which he was nominated the first President. Mr. Boyce is now in England. A warm and mutual friendship, which dates from our first

acquaintance, renders it needful for me to speak of his personal qualities under restraint; but the great and valuable services which he was enabled to render to our South African Mission, must, without regard to any feeling of private friendship, be made to appear in the second part of this work, when I narrate the early history of the Wesleyan Missions in Kaffraria. Messrs. John Edwards and W. J. Davis were the next Missionaries sent to reinforce our number. Both of them have laboured long and most successfully in very remote parts of the interior; and I trust the great Head of the Church will yet spare them to be the instruments of turning many to righteousness.

The work in Albany had steadily progressed under the care of the Missionaries, during the period of my residence in Kaffraria. It continued to do so after my appointment to Graham's Town. In the year 1831, there was a remarkable revival of religion among the young people of the congregation. Several respectable families, who had for some time been attendants at our chapel, also participated in the religious quickening which was now vouchsafed by the Lord the Spirit. Many were truly converted, and from that time commenced a course of consistent piety, which continues to this time; while others, after some years of Christian devotedness, died happy in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, leaving the most pleasing reminiscences to their surviving friends, of the beauty and excellence of their religious character, and their devoted zeal in the cause of the Redeemer.

The enlarged chapel now became much too small, notwithstanding that many families who had been originally Independents, Presbyterians, or Episcopalians,

had transferred their attendance to the St. George's Episcopal church, or to the Independent chapel, which had been recently erected in the town. The growth of the congregation rendered it once more necessary to take steps for the erection of a larger Methodist chapel; which it was resolved should also possess a much improved architectural character, and stand on a better site than that occupied by the old building. The people contributed liberally; and a chapel, which cost in all about three thousand pounds, was erected. It afforded comfortable accommodation for a congregation of seven or eight hundred persons. It was opened for public worship on Sunday, the 16th of December, 1832. I preached in the forenoon; the Rev. Mr. Monroe (Independent) in the afternoon; and the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury in the evening. The Rev. Mr. Davis, Baptist Minister, preached on the following Monday evening. The collections at these opening services amounted to more than one hundred pounds: showing the growing means and the increasing interest of the people; for at the opening of the first chapel the collection scarcely exceeded twenty pounds. Most of the pews were speedily let; and the large additional accommodation soon began to be occupied by an increasing and serious congregation. The old chapel was retained as a school-house and place of worship for the use of a native congregation; consisting, at this time, chiefly of prize Negroes of various African nations, and Hottentots, for whose benefit Divine worship had been some time conducted in the Dutch language.

Having for family reasons obtained leave from the Missionary Committee to visit England, I left the Colony, for that purpose, in the month of March, 1833.

I was succeeded at Graham's Town by the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, who had been several years in South Africa, and had commenced the important Mission among the tribe of Kaffirs belonging to the great Chief Hintsa. His reputation, as a faithful Minister of Christ, had preceded his arrival in Southern Africa; for the events connected with the destruction of the chapel in which he had preached in the Island of Barbadoes, and his providential escape from the hands of a mob excited to fury against him by the most groundless reports and extravagant misrepresentations, had given him an undesired, but honourable, notoriety among all who wished well to the black and coloured races in our Colonies, and who felt interested in the progress of Christianity among them. The very able and truly evangelical character of Mr. Shrewsbury's ministry, together with his zealous pastoral efforts, was of the greatest service, and many were thereby attracted to the new chapel. A most painful domestic bereavement obliged him to leave South Africa and return to England, after a comparatively short sojourn in Graham's Town; but he left behind him an undying reputation for piety, ministerial ability, and fidelity. On my departure for England the Mission had not been quite thirteen years established, and the state of the work in Albany at this time is correctly represented in the following extract from a report which I wrote for the use of the General Secretaries of the Missionary Society in London.

"A second chapel has been built in Graham's Town by the Wesleyan Society. It was opened on the 16th of December last, and is a very handsome and substantial building, capable of accommodating about

eight hundred hearers. The original chapel, which affords room for upwards of four hundred persons, is now used as a school-house, and also as a place of worship for the black and coloured population, for whose benefit it is requisite to hold separate services, as they do not generally understand the English language.

“Within a period of thirteen years, no less than thirteen substantial chapels have been erected in various parts of the settlement by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants. In several parts of the District, were it not for these chapels, the settlers would have no facilities whatever for regularly attending public worship. Sunday schools have been established in connexion with these places of worship; and, in the Wesleyan schools alone, about eight hundred children and adults, including white and black, bond and free, are taught to read the word of God, and instructed in the principles and morals of the Christian religion.

“By these means not only has the English population been preserved from moral degeneracy, but the tone of moral and religious feeling now existing amongst them would not suffer by a comparison with the high standard which prevails in the most enlightened districts of Great Britain. At the same time the aborigines have not been neglected; many of those who reside within the British settlement have been brought under the influence of Christianity; a very encouraging number have received baptism, and are now consistent members of the Christian Church.”

CHAPTER VI.

KAFFIR WARS.

RESIDENCE in England—Re-appointment to Southern Africa—Kaffir Wars—Opinion as to the Cause of them—Opposite Errors regarding the Kaffir Character—Kaffirs are “natural Men”—Their moral State depicted in scriptural Terms—Their heathen Condition illustrates the Value of Christianity—Narrative of Events—The Chiefs Makomo, Dhlambi, and Pato—Makomo’s Attack on the Abatembu—Exasperation on his Expulsion from the Kat River—Hottentot Settlement—Natives within the Colonies entitled to suitable Reserves of Land—Such Reserves should be legally secured—Opinion of Commissioners of Inquiry—Kat River Settlement well intended—Produced evil Consequences—Lessons taught by these Events—Native Settlements should not be too large—Should be dispersed among the European Colonists—Should not be placed on a disturbed Border—The Government and Cape Parliament might advantageously appropriate Lands for the Natives—Danger may arise to the Colony from disregarding their Wishes—The Settlements of the Hottentots and Fingoes cannot now be safely disturbed—Care required by Magistrates and Missionaries in watching over them—My Examination before the Aborigines Committee—Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen—Correct Views published at the Time by the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

I WAS absent from the Colony exactly four years, having arrived in Graham’s Town, on my return, in March, 1837. Three years of the time I was stationed on the Leeds West Circuit, which covered the same ground as that now occupied by the Leeds Second and Fourth Circuits. It was my privilege and happiness to labour in great harmony with my colleagues and the people on this important Circuit. During the period of my sojourn here,

our zealous people erected and opened the large building called Oxford Place Chapel. I learned many useful lessons, while stationed here, from my successive Superintendents, (the late Rev. Messrs. R. Wood and J. Anderson,) and was very happy in my Circuit duties. But the design of my visit to England being to a great extent accomplished, I readily consented, on the call of the Missionary Secretaries and Committee, to go out again to Graham's Town; and at the Conference (of 1836) I received an appointment as "General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South Eastern Africa," which office I continued to hold till my last return to England in 1856, a period of twenty years. During my sojourn in England, I was never separated in feeling and sympathy from the affairs of the South African Mission; and the friends of our Missionary Society afforded me abundant opportunities to represent its state, and plead its cause, both in the metropolis and in most parts of England and Ireland. My journeys and attendance at Missionary Meetings, in addition to my regular Circuit duties, were, at times, more than I could easily accomplish; but my health was generally good, and by the kindness of Ministers and people I was sustained in this pleasing but exhausting work.

While I was in England, the distressing intelligence arrived that a war had broken out between the border Kaffir tribes (Amaxosa) and the colonists. There had been several collisions of the same kind between the Kaffirs and the old Dutch colonists, long before the arrival of the British settlers on the border. A very destructive war of this kind, involving the loss of many lives and destruction of much property, had only been terminated by the success of the British troops in 1819.

Peace had been made about a year before the arrival of the British settlers, at an interview between Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Colony, and the Kaffir Chief, Gaika, whom the Colonial Government at that time very unwisely chose to regard as the King or chief governing authority of Kaffraria. From that period till the end of the year 1834, there had been occasional robberies of cattle, and murders perpetrated by the Kaffirs on the English settlers, which were frequently retaliated by active patrols of troops, when not peaceably compensated by the Chiefs; but nothing like a general war had occurred. As the three successive Kaffir wars of 1834, 1846-7, and 1850-2, have had a great effect on all the affairs of the British settlers, and have likewise operated powerfully on the condition and recent history of the Kaffir tribes, I think the reader will expect some statement of my opinion concerning the origin, conduct, and result of these wars, and the most probable means of preventing their recurrence.

I will state at once, and in the most explicit terms, that I do not regard these lamentable collisions as the result of any intentional injustice on the part of the Colonial Government, and much less as the effect of any generally oppressive conduct indulged by the British settlers towards the border tribes. Of course, the few acts of individual wrong or injustice which may have been perpetrated, I neither wish to justify nor to palliate; but I am now speaking of the behaviour of the mass of the settlers towards the Kaffir people, previously to the outburst of the first Kaffir war in 1834. I know that in thus stating the case I shall appear, to some of my readers at least, as recording an opinion very

materially differing from the representations made by other writers on the same topic, who have generally been regarded, from their position and supposed knowledge of the facts, to be most trustworthy authorities. I am also aware that I must encounter the disapproval of many persons in this country, who have been accustomed to view the Kaffirs as so many harmless sheep attacked from time to time by ravenous wolves in the form of an oppressive race of British colonists. But as my opinion has been honestly formed, after a long and minute acquaintance with the subject, I would respectfully submit that there has been very much misapprehension in certain circles on this point. I do not accuse any one of intentional misrepresentation; but these affairs have too often been stated by public writers after the manner of special pleaders. On one hand, every fact and circumstance has been detailed, and commented upon to weariness, whenever calculated to induce a judgment favourable to the innocence of the Kaffir and the rapacity of the colonist. On the other hand, there has been a class of writers who have written concerning the native tribes in terms which betray an utter want of fairness in reviewing their character and conduct. These have measured the Chiefs and the people by the standard which obtains in our own Christianized nation; and because they are found to come very far short of the required altitude in morals and manners, they have been represented as altogether destitute of the characteristics and dignity of human nature, and consequently only fit to be dealt with as animals of an inferior grade in creation.

I need hardly say that I have no sympathy with the views of either of these extreme parties. The Kaffirs

are men possessing all the faculties and feelings of humanity. There are of course diversities of mental power amongst them, as among all other races of mankind; but they probably possess as much capacity for mental improvement as the people of any other nation; and no one who has seen them would ever question their physical ability for being trained to any of the arts or habits of the most advanced civilized society, were they placed in circumstances that favoured such a developement of their powers and faculties. But they have partaken, in common with all the children of Adam, of the evil consequences of his fall. A gentleman once described them before a Committee of the House of Commons, as "natural born thieves." He might have said more; he might have truly represented them in the words of the Wesleyan Conference Catechism, as "all born proud, self-willed, lovers of the world, and not lovers of God." In regard to their original moral condition they are neither better nor worse than others. But for thousands of years their ancestors, like themselves, have been Heathens. The light of traditionary knowledge concerning God and moral subjects has been growing more and more dim, till we at length found them in a state of almost total darkness. Through such a succession of dreary ages, groping their way in a constantly increasing obscurity, can we wonder if we now find them very far gone from righteousness? so that the humiliating description of unmitigated ungodliness contained in the Scriptures is *literally* applicable to them: "There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no,

not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre ; with their tongues they have used deceit ; the poison of asps is under their lips : whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness : their feet are swift to shed blood : destruction and misery are in their ways : and the way of peace have they not known : there is no fear of God before their eyes." (Rom. iii. 10-18.)

It is a subject which I shall not here attempt to investigate, to what extent the continued indulgence of the most gross and debasing vices, by successive generations of ignorant Heathens, may operate in producing a peculiar normal condition, wherein certain forms of sin are specially prominent, and, consequently, become peculiarly characteristic of their race. No doubt all heathen nations greatly differ, in their general ideas and habits, from nations which have long possessed the Divine law, and the elevating and restraining influence of the worship of the true God. Observant and thoughtful men, who have travelled or lived among people placed in the same circumstances as the Kaffirs of South Africa, will never think of raising the question whether Christianity, with her Bible, and her Ministry, and ordinances, has improved and raised the condition of those nations among whom her influence has been felt for any lengthened period. The moral contrast between unmitigated Heathenism, and even an incipient Christianity, will be found to present most conclusive evidence of the humanizing and civilizing tendency of our holy religion. All this, however, seems to have been strangely overlooked or forgotten by many, when they have spoken or written on the subject of the wars on our Kaffir border. Several popular and distinguished writers, under the influence of a strong

bias, in some cases produced by local, party, or personal causes, have so grouped and represented the alleged facts in their publications, as to have produced in the public mind the most erroneous ideas respecting the moral state and character of the native tribes ; leading to an impression that, in these sad and painful conflicts, the Kaffirs have always been right, and the colonists as invariably wrong. It has been generally understood and firmly believed by large classes of the most Christian, humane, and philanthropic people of this country, that the Kaffirs were merely fighting in defence of their liberty and territory ; while the colonists urged on aggressive war, for the purposes of oppression and the annexation of the Kaffir country. Never was there a popular error with so little reason to excuse it. Only I must request the reader to mark well that I allude *exclusively* in this place to the history of the *British settlers*, and the Kaffirs on the eastern border of the Colony, since the year 1820.

As stated above, a peace was concluded with the principal Kaffir Chief by the Governor of the Colony in 1819, in which the boundary between the Colony and Kaffraria was distinctly defined. The British settlers arrived in 1820, and had, of course, nothing whatever to do with that transaction. This treaty was succeeded by a peace between the colonists and Kaffirs, which endured for fourteen years ; the general harmony being only disturbed by occasional robberies and murders, perpetrated within the Colony by small marauding parties. A tract of country, intervening between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma, had been reserved by the treaty of 1819, as a sort of neutral

territory, to prevent the too close proximity of the Kaffirs and colonists; and thus to render the danger of disputes and collisions between them less imminent. The Kaffir Chiefs, however, seemed so much disposed to cultivate terms of amity with the English, that Makomo, the son of Gaika, was allowed to re-occupy the Kat River, which, by the treaty, had been included within the limits of the Colony; but which Gaika and his sons chose to say they had not understood to be ceded as part of the neutral territory. No doubt this concession, for the time, was very pleasing to the Gaika Chiefs and their tribes; and as they were told that they were to hold these lands pending good behaviour, it is likely that they were hereby restrained from many depredations which they might otherwise have committed.

The Dhlambi Chiefs, including the tribe of Pato, with which I lived from 1824 to 1830 inclusive, felt aggrieved by the treaty of 1819, as it had deprived them of their share of the neutral territory, over which they denied that Gaika ever had any right or control, and, therefore, he had no power to cede it away. I represented their views and feelings to the Government of the day; and, at a public interview held between the Commandant of Kaffraria and the Chiefs, in the presence of a considerable military force and a large assemblage of the Kaffirs, I rendered important assistance in bringing about a good understanding between the Government and the powerful Chief Dhlambi; whose tribe now moved to their old country, between the Buffaloe and Keiskamma Rivers, from whence they had been driven during the war of 1818-19. I afterwards urged Pato's request, for permission to re-occupy his portion

of the neutral ground on the coast westward of the Keiskamma. The Government, after much correspondence and discussion, at length acceded to his wishes, and allowed this tribe (the Amagunukwaybi) first to occupy a part of it, and then, on their good behaviour for a number of years, the whole, as far as the Great Fish River; and, for some eighteen years, they remained in peaceful re-occupation of the country that had been ceded in 1819.

In the year 1828, Makomo thought proper, with his clan, to attack a small Abatembu tribe, living behind the Kat Bergen, in doing which he pursued them into the colonial territory; and, while the Government was at peace with the nation of Abatembu, his warriors killed or wounded many of them, and carried off at the same time a large number of their cattle. For this outrage it was resolved to expel this Chief from the territory which he had been suffered to occupy, as a special act of favour, contrary to the treaty of 1819. The repeated robberies and murders committed by his people, during several previous years, on the farms of the adjoining Dutch colonists, and this crowning act of aggression on the Tembookie tribe, were considered to be sufficient evidence that they were unworthy to enjoy this privilege any longer; since they seemed disposed to make the favourable position which they occupied in the valleys surrounded by the Kat Berg, a sort of garrison, whence they could at their pleasure sally forth and commit acts of aggression on their neighbours, both white and black. Makomo and his people were, therefore, expelled by the British and colonial forces, happily without bloodshed, from the Kat River; and obliged once more to take up their

abode within the limits assigned to the Gaika tribe by the treaty of 1819.

I have no doubt that this proceeding greatly exasperated Makomo and his people, who could not understand how our Government, acting upon a principle of justice, should inflict this forfeiture on them for an aggression on a neighbouring native tribe. The subsequent war of 1834-5 was, consequently, headed and directed chiefly by Makomo, who despaired of recovering possession of this much coveted tract of land, when he saw that shortly after his expulsion it was peopled by the authority of the Colonial Government. But when the question is raised, What had the British settlers to do with this transaction? the only reply that can be given is, Absolutely nothing! They neither called for the expulsion of Makomo, nor did they aid in any way to effect it. "But did they not get possession of the Kat River lands?" Not an acre of them. The Government resolved to form a large settlement in that locality, consisting of Hottentots and other Africans, born or naturalized in the Colony. These classes of people were invited to take possession: and as they arrived from various parts of the Colony, these lands were subdivided among them. Several villages were formed; and at length a population of this description, without any admixture of European race, saving a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, (the Rev. W. R. Thomson,) and the Rev. Messrs. Reed of the London Missionary Society, who undertook the pastoral charge of the people, —was settled in the district from whence Makomo had been driven.

It is quite beside my present purpose to discuss the policy of this measure of the Colonial Government, for which

Sir Andries Stockenstrom, at that time Commissioner-General for frontier affairs, is chiefly responsible. I entirely concurred at the time, and do so now, in the opinion that the Hottentot race, having been very improperly deprived by the old Dutch Government of all right in the soil of the Colony, once belonging to their forefathers, it was fair and reasonable that some steps should have been taken to provide those among them who had the means of rendering the land available for their own support, with suitable locations, to be held in their own name and right.

I am decidedly hostile, on grounds both of justice and good policy, to any plan of colonization which deprives the natives of all right in the soil. There should be ample reserves of lands of average value made for them in all parts of a territory, which is governed by our colonial rulers, and generally occupied by our colonists. For a time these lands should be legally vested in trustees, selected from a class of persons who, by their inclination or position, must be naturally careful for their interests; or, perhaps, still better, they might remain under the responsible management of the Governor for the time being, without, however, giving him power to alienate such lands for other purposes; excepting under special authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, granted on the concurrent recommendation of the local Parliament. In whatever manner the lands are secured *pro tempore*, there should, however, be a proviso, that, as soon as any of the natives erect appropriate dwellings, and are presumably acquainted with the rights and privileges arising from the ownership of real property, they should receive legal titles, vesting their own lands in their own names in the usual manner; and then they may be safely allowed,

like all other classes of the community, "to do what they will with their own." The result in the course of time would be, that the idle and worthless would dispose of their landed property, and be compelled, by their own want of character and thrift, to join the classes who must seek employment from others, to secure for themselves the means of subsistence; while the more industrious and sober would be found, as a class, to rise in character, and support themselves in comfort on their own homesteads and allotments. His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry long ago expressed an opinion decidedly favourable to the granting of land to the natives; although it appears from their report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, printed in 1830, that they considered it "desirable that the Hottentots should not be congregated in one spot; and that, in restoring to them a portion of that territory which was once their own, and in admitting them to the enjoyment of privileges in common with the rest of His Majesty's subjects in South Africa, any measures should be avoided which might tend to impress them with an opinion that they are destined to form a distinct class of the population." *

After the above expression of my views, the reader will perceive that I do not wish to represent the settlement of the Hottentots on the vacant lands of the Kat River as *per se* an evil proceeding. On the contrary, I think Sir Andries Stockenstrom, acting in his capacity as Commissioner-General, deserves all honour for recommending and carrying out this honest and bold measure; which he designed to be at once an act of justice to the coloured people, and a means of defence

* Commissioner Bigge's Report on the Hottentot Population, p. 22.

for an exposed part of the Colony, against the incursions of the border Kaffirs. But it was an experiment; and, however well and honestly intended, it led to some very disastrous results, both as it regards the colonists and the natives. I do not mean that experience shows that it was wrong to grant to the natives the possession of a part of the lands which had belonged to their forefathers. Experience never shows an act of justice to be wrong. But the result in this case has shown that although it was fair and reasonable to grant these people a right in the soil, yet the time and *mode* of doing it, in this instance, entailed certain evil consequences.

FIRST, it greatly exasperated the Chief Makomo and his people, and rendered them very dangerous neighbours. SECONDLY, it brought together from all parts of the Colony a great body of natives, exceeding four thousand in number; having among them painful remembrances of grievous wrongs, suffered by some of them from certain Dutch farmers before the establishment of regular government and courts of justice in the border districts; and with yet more painful traditions, some true, and others exaggerated, or wholly false, of injuries sustained from the same class of colonists, at a still remoter period. This concourse of people, including about one thousand able-bodied men, all armed, and well knowing how to use their fire-arms, were thus entirely separated from the rest of the colonial community, whom they were unhappily induced, by a variety of events, to regard as hostile to them and their interests. In consequence of this arrangement, they gradually lost all sympathy with the white inhabitants; and as many of the latter no doubt disliked seeing numbers of people collected together, as they conceived, without means of

honest subsistence, and who might be fully and more usefully employed as labourers on their farms, which could not be properly managed for lack of such labour,—estranged and even hostile feelings were gradually produced between the two classes. THIRDLY, this large body of the Hottentots and other races were placed close to the Kaffirs, that they might act as a frontier guard for that part of the Colony ; but it was not foreseen that this proximity afforded opportunity for intercourse between the two races, which might lead to serious consequences affecting the peace of the country. In point of fact, there is now no doubt that at a rather early period a friendly intercourse, but, from the circumstances of the time, of dangerous tendency, was opened between the natives located on the Kat River, and their Kaffir neighbours. Many of the former, indeed, could speak the Kaffir language ; and not a few were connected in various ties of relationship with the neighbouring Kaffirs, in consequence of that intermingling of tribes and families which always occurs in border districts. Hence there is evidence sufficient to show that treasonable intercourse took place between certain Hottentots and the Kaffirs, a short time before the war of 1834 ; and although during the war, and the subsequent one of 1846, the great body of the Kat River people rendered valuable service in the defence of the country, yet, at the very commencement of the last war, (1850,) there arose a fierce rebellion among the natives of that settlement, which speedily involved a large proportion of its population, who became most dangerous enemies of the Colony ; and, by their alliance with the Kaffirs, for a time placed the colonial border, with its scattered population of British settlers, in the

most extreme peril and danger. Indeed, it is undeniable that the greatest atrocities committed during that period were perpetrated by these people and other natives, with whom they were unhappily induced to connect themselves.

The lesson to be learned from all this as to the future,—and it is hoped that the Governors of the various South African Colonies will not forget it, for similar circumstances are likely enough to arise hereafter,—is not, indeed, that the natives should be deprived of all right in the soil. On the contrary, let them have as much of the land as is requisite, whereon to raise for themselves such a subsistence as will render them comfortable and happy; but in securing this end, care should be taken to avoid, as far as circumstances will allow, the planting unmanageably large masses of them together in one locality. A population of from one to two thousand is as many as it is desirable to place in one neighbourhood. A much less number than one thousand, however, would hardly form a sufficient congregation and supply of children for central schools, to render it probable that any responsible Society or Church authority would appoint a Minister to the pastoral oversight of the people; and without a resident Missionary of character and zeal, attached to one or other of the recognised Christian denominations, any collection of natives within the limits of the Colonies of Southern Africa is almost sure, in the present circumstances especially of the Kaffir and Bechuana tribes, to become a centre of wickedness, and a source of trouble and disquiet to the surrounding country.

Plant native settlements where necessary, with a

manageable population, in various parts of the Colonies, and let there always be a "native reserve" in close proximity to the colonial towns, for the residences of those who seek employment there; and let the people of the native settlements, or from the town reserves, mingle freely with the surrounding farmers. The farmers will generally be glad to employ them; and as the natives are under the full protection of the law, and can take their labour to the best market, they may be safely left to their natural shrewdness for securing fair wages according to the value of their services. The colonists can find suitable employment for a numerous body of occasional labourers, especially during the busy seasons of the year, in ploughing and reaping, sheep-washing and shearing. The steady pursuit of a system of this kind may be expected to cause kindly feelings gradually to grow up between colonists and the natives whom they occasionally employ; while many of the children of the latter will be induced to become domestic servants in the families of the European classes, and thus acquire improved habits of great value in promoting their comfort, and advancing them in the general scale of social life in the Colony. As far as possible, it would be well to avoid planting these native settlements on any exposed border, and in contact with tribes known or supposed to be hostile or unfriendly. Past experience—better than any theory—shows that this is fraught with danger. But disperse these settlements through various suitable parts of the Colony: in times of war and commotion they will render quite as good service when summoned as a militia force to the point of danger, and they will be less liable to be successfully tampered with

by designing African Chiefs in more peaceable periods.

The chief difficulty in the Cape Colony in carrying out extensively a plan of this kind arises from the fact, that in all those parts of the country where such a system would be most desirable, as a matter of safety and good policy, and alike promotive of the interests of all classes,—there are few, if any, suitable localities at the disposal of Government. But surely the Cape Parliament might be found willing, for such an object, to give its sanction that a *limited* amount arising from the sale of the very extensive tracts of Government land on some parts of the border, and elsewhere, should be applied to a distinct fund, and be appropriated by the Executive Government in the purchase of suitable lands whereon to form such native settlements in various parts of the Colony. The money so expended need not be regarded as lost. It would, in fact, be an investment; for the annual quit rent, which could be easily obtained from the native grants, would return to the treasury a handsome amount of interest. Under existing circumstances, without some such plan is adopted, no power possessed by the Government or Cape Parliament can prevent numbers of Kaffirs and other natives from congregating in considerable bodies in various parts of the country, destitute of all moral and religious instruction, and comparatively free from all magisterial or legal control. But even if the police throughout the Colony can be so increased as to prevent so undesirable a result, the natives will then inevitably migrate again to the countries from whence they came, and, by their acquired colonial knowledge, will prove very apt agents for any native Chiefs beyond

the border, who may desire to recommence a series of border wars. They are fond of the society of their own class, and the best disposed and most influential of them will not, in general, submit to be prevented from having any place which they can consider as their home, and to which they may occasionally, at least, have the opportunity of resorting. The colonists, as represented by their Parliament, have now their option to consider the peculiarities of the native mind, and to adapt the measures of Government to meet them, so that the vast native population may be gradually settled in their midst, as peaceful and industrious communities; or by a firm and stern denial of all means tending to render the natives possessors of homesteads, and inhabitants of well conducted communities, they may produce such a state of feeling among all classes of the coloured people,—retained exclusively in service,—as will sooner or later produce a servile war, which may prove far more terrible in its consequences than any Kaffir war hitherto experienced on the border.

I trust this long digression will be found not altogether uninteresting to the general reader, as it will explain, at least in outline, the principal difficulties connected with settling and making proper provision for the natives residing within the limits of our South African Colonies. The error of locating such large masses of natives together on an exposed border, which has been twice committed by the settlement of the Hottentots on the Kat River, and the Fingoes on certain tracts on the same frontier, cannot now be remedied. The objects kept in view by the several Governors and other influential persons in founding these settlements, were undeniably good. They wished at once to secure

the safety of the Colony, and to promote the welfare of the natives, by these arrangements; and no candid person can deny that many highly beneficial results have arisen from placing these native settlements under the pastoral care of Christian Missionaries, and the control of responsible Magistrates. But experience has shown that these results might have been even more extensively realized, had the settlements been smaller, and more dispersed among the various frontier districts, further removed from actual contact with the neighbouring Kaffir Chiefs and tribes. The Hottentot and Fingoe locations have, however, now been too long established to be again interfered with. They could not be materially disturbed, but at the peril of producing very great mischief. They must therefore remain as they are, but it behoves the Government to give its most careful attention to the affairs of these people. The Magistrates who reside among them, should be men at once firm and independent, kind and considerate; and a sufficient body of Missionaries and School Teachers should be constantly moving about among them, devoting themselves exclusively to their religious and educational duties, and leaving all fiscal and secular matters to be dealt with exclusively by the officers of Government; the Missionaries and Teachers readily aiding them in any efforts to induce the people to improve their agriculture, and in whatever may be likely to elevate their domestic habits and advance their social comfort.

During my residence in England I was twice examined, at considerable length, before the "Aborigines Committee" of the House of Commons, which, in consequence of the Kaffir war of 1834-5, had been

appointed, on the urgent representations of that most indefatigable and honest friend of Africa and the African race, the late Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart. On the arrival of the mail bringing news of this sudden outburst of the Kaffir tribes on the border districts of the Colony, I also addressed a long letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject. This communication was acknowledged with thanks, and was printed, without abridgment, among the evidence collected by the Aborigines Committee. It was also published in a separate form as a pamphlet, and was somewhat extensively circulated. If any one feels sufficiently interested in the matter to examine that letter and my evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, he will find that the opinions I have expressed in this chapter on the cause of the Kaffir war of that period are substantially the same as those which I then put forth. During a subsequent residence of more than twenty years, with many opportunities for observing what was going forward, having trustworthy correspondents among the various tribes, being on very friendly terms with most of the principal Chiefs, and having had the honour to be consulted on several important occasions by the successive Governors of the Colony, and other high officials, on matters connected with native affairs and the peace of the border; I may surely claim to be even better acquainted with the whole bearing of the subject than I was in 1835. I have, however, found no reason to alter, but much to justify the general statement in which I summed up my remarks in one part of my letter to Lord Aberdeen, and which I will here repeat: "Thus your Lordship will perceive that I attribute the present disturbed state of the Kaffir

border, not to any cruelties perpetrated by the British settlers upon the Kaffirs; not to any want of humanity in the British officers in their treatment of the native tribes, or of zeal and activity in the protection of British lives and property; but to the moral state and predatory habits of the Kaffirs, the evil tendencies of which have been aggravated by the exceedingly mischievous character of our border policy."

The views entertained by the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society regarding the outbreak of the Kaffir war, are thus clearly set forth in their announcement to the friends of our Missions, as published in the "Missionary Notices" for May, 1835:—

"Long before this number of our 'Notices' can be circulated, our readers, generally, will have learned, from the public journals, the deeply afflictive intelligence which has arrived from South Africa during the last few weeks. We refer to the fearful calamity which, in the month of December, overtook the settlers in the Albany District, and other portions of the Eastern Borders of the British Colony, by an irruption of the pagan Kaffirs, who passed the frontier line at various points, and in very numerous bodies, and have pursued a course of plunder, devastation, and murder, the description of which is too horrible for minute recital in our pages. At the date, however, of the latest accounts hitherto received, (January 30th,) there was reason to hope that the progress of the invaders had been arrested; and that general security and tranquillity would, in some tolerable degree, be speedily restored: but the loss of life, as well as of property, has, we fear, been very considerable; and the distress entailed by the visitation will be both intense and enduring. Amidst

these scenes of alarm and peril, we are happy to state, there is reason to believe that the lives of all our beloved Missionaries, and their families, have been graciously preserved. For this signal mercy, we unite with them and their numerous English friends in offering devout thanksgivings to Divine Providence. Their circumstances, however, and those of our Societies in South Africa, are still such as to call for the tenderest sympathy, and entitle them to a very special interest in the prayers of all who have the cause of Christ at heart. When more ample intelligence shall have arrived *from themselves*, we shall endeavour to satisfy the intense anxiety of our readers by publishing the particulars. In the mean time we rejoice to add, that the influence of Christianity, where its truths and institutions had previously been brought into even partial operation, appears to have been considerably pacific and salutary on those Chiefs and tribes who had made any explicit acknowledgment of its authority; and that the mischief has thus been, in some degree, *checked and mitigated*. Had the Gospel been more extensively propagated, and the moral feelings and habits of the natives at large brought under its mild and ameliorating control, by means of a more adequate supply of Missionaries and Schoolmasters than has hitherto been afforded to Kaffraria, even by the united efforts of all the Societies, who can tell how much of the calamity might have been altogether *prevented*? Large and powerful masses of *unchristianized* and uncivilized men can never long be safe neighbours to a Christian Colony. We must give them our religion, if we would reckon with certainty on securing their cordial confidence and friendship."

The painful subject is again referred to in a subse-

quent number of the "Missionary Notices" for the same year, in the following passage; which displays an acquaintance with the subject most creditable to the writer. Much evil would have been prevented, if all popular English writers who at this period hastily undertook to enlighten the world concerning the causes of the Kaffir war, had taken similar care, first, to become thoroughly familiar with the facts, and, afterwards, to apply a sound philosophy in accounting for them.

"It is not our province to dwell at large upon the causes of the Kaffir war. Those who are aware of the irritating effect produced upon the mind of Makomo, by a succession of such measures as that to which the Rev. William Shaw has referred, in his 'Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen,' lately published, (a pamphlet which we strongly recommend to those who desire thoroughly to understand the subject,) will not be at a loss to account for the origin of the recent calamity. But of whatever Makomo and his brother Tyalie might have to complain, in respect to the policy pursued by the Colonial Government, Hintza had no personal grievance to be redressed. His territories were too remote to suffer from any incursions from the Colony. On one occasion, when threatened with invasion from other tribes, he had been defended by the colonial forces; and he had always the means at command for protecting his people against the wrong-doings of any English traders who might visit or reside among them. It would not really serve the cause of humanity to deny, that his native cupidity had no small share in prompting him to cherish and promote the war. It would be a mistaken philanthropy, and a palpable contradiction of St. Paul's description of the

Gentile world, to represent mere heathen men as combining in their character all that is noble and excellent. It is not their virtue which entitles them to our sympathy, but their bondage to demoralizing and cruel superstitions, and their need of that Gospel which alone can save fallen man; and the fearful energy even of their vices tends only to strengthen the appeal in their behalf. The death of Hintza is an event deeply to be deplored: Christian charity would have rejoiced in his preservation and final subjugation to the Gospel; yet his murderous intentions towards the Missionary can scarcely be doubted. His growing dislike to 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' united with other motives, had evidently placed the Mission family in imminent peril: and their providential deliverance is cause of gratitude. The heroic firmness of the Missionary, which proved, most probably, the means of preserving the lives of the new converts from the vengeance of the pagan Chief, will be duly appreciated by our readers; and the friends of the Society will offer their fervent prayers to the great Head of the Church, that the scattered flock in the late Hintza's territories may speedily be collected again, and that the hopeful work which had been begun among his people may be prosecuted more successfully than ever."

CHAPTER VII.

KAFFIR WARS—THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

RETURN to Graham's Town—Effects of the War of 1834—Colonel Smith's Report—Statement of colonial Losses—Colonists exasperated—Injudicious Interference of Friends of the Native Tribes—Reversal of Sir B. D'Urban's Measures—My published Opinion on the Case of the Settlers at this Time—The Settlers petition King William IV., and the Imperial Parliament—Lord Glenelg's Dispatch—Subsequent Disclaimer of imputing Blame to the Settlers—Wesleyan Missionaries misrepresented—Controversy—Wesleyan Missionary Motto—Experience shows that our Views were sound because just—A contrary Policy produced the War of 1846—Sir P. Maitland—Sir H. Pottinger—Evil of rapid Changes of Governors—Sir H. Smith and the Peace—Reduction of Military Force—British Commissioners unable to check the lawless—Inadequate moral Means—Certain Chiefs commence the War of 1851—2—False Economy—Sir George Cathcart restores Peace—Measures for promoting future Security—The Kaffirs *now* deprived of a large Tract of Territory—British Settlers not responsible for this Result—Only Excuse for the Chiefs the lengthened Licence allowed them by our Government—Frontier Settlers do not generally profit by Kaffir Wars—Losses and Sufferings of many of them—"Board of Relief"—Persons who obtain Government Employment or Contracts cannot influence the Question of War or Peace—The Subject of Kaffir Wars very extensive—Sources of Information—"Notes on South African Affairs"—General Concurrence of Opinion renders the Justification of Wesleyan Missionaries complete—Reason for referring to the now obsolete Controversy.

ON my arrival at Graham's Town in March, 1837, I found the people just recovering from the sad results of the previous war. Many of the settlers had been killed, and numerous farm-houses which, before I left

the country, had been erected in various parts of the district, had been burnt down. These white-washed farm-buildings added greatly to the picturesque variety and liveliness of the scene, as I used to traverse it on my pastoral and preaching journeys; but they now only appeared as desolated ruins, with blackened walls, and having tales of horror connected with their recent history, which were recited to me by the owners, whom I now found once more living in tents or huts, on property where I had previously seen them occupying very comfortable dwellings, erected at considerable cost, and no small amount of personal labour. It is beside my purpose to enter into the painful details either of this war, or of the two subsequent wars which occurred while I was a resident in the country. Indeed, I cannot more briefly or forcibly state the distress and misery occasioned by the Kaffir inroad of 1834-5, than by quoting the following passage contained in a report transmitted by Colonel (now Lieutenant-General) Sir Harry Smith, G.C.B., to the Governor at Cape Town, in January, 1835:—

“Already are seven thousand persons dependent upon the Government for the necessities of life. The land is filled with the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless. The indelible impressions already made upon myself, by the horrors of an irruption of savages upon a scattered population, almost exclusively engaged in the peaceful occupation of husbandry, are such as to make me look on those I have witnessed in a service of thirty years,—ten of which in the most eventful period of the war,—as trifles to what I have now witnessed; and compel me to bring under consideration, as forcibly as I am able, the heart-rending position in which a very large portion of the inhabitants of this frontier are at present placed, as well as their intense anxiety respecting their future condition.”

The actual extent of damage sustained by the settlers of Albany, including the losses of the Dutch settlers in the northern border districts, was carefully inquired into, and officially reported by the Government to amount to the estimated value of £288,625. 4s. 9d.

It is hardly necessary to say, that these heavy losses, inflicted on people who were not conscious of having committed—and in fact were entirely innocent of—any act of aggression on the Kaffir tribes, produced very much exasperation. Under such circumstances, it can scarcely be expected that the mass of the people would regard the Kaffirs with very complacent feelings. Indeed, I soon became painfully sensible of a great revulsion in the sentiments of the British settlers in reference to the Kaffir race. Up to the period of my departure, the prevailing feeling was undoubtedly that of kindness and good will towards these people. Hearty wishes for the success of the Missions among them, and the progress and improvement of the Kaffir Chiefs and people, were often expressed by all classes of the settlers, many of whom, on the visits of the Chiefs, (which, after I brought the first of them to the Colony, became rather frequent,) received them into their houses, and treated them with much generous hospitality. But the painful events of the war greatly diminished those feelings of kindness on the part of the British settlers. In some minds, indeed, strong sentiments of dislike were produced; and even among professors of religion it was at times requisite, in mild but decisive terms, to speak of the great Christian duty, to forgive our enemies, and to pray for those who despitely use us. Those who have never been placed in such painful circumstances may think this strange; but candid

persons who are acquainted with the history of border tribes in all lands, and embraced in every period of historic narrative, will feel no amazement at such a result.

Unhappily these feelings were, for a time, rendered much more intense than probably they would have been, in consequence of the course pursued by some among the professed friends of the native tribes, who, either from defective information, or so strong a sympathy with the natives as rendered them blind to the just rights and claims of the settlers, were certainly led into a course of action which greatly increased the prevailing exasperation. It was believed that, owing to the interference and one-sided representations of some of these well-meaning but indiscreet gentlemen, the arrangements which Sir B. D'Urban had made at the conclusion of the war, for the pacification and future protection and safety of the country, had been inconsiderately overruled and set aside by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and in proportion to the confidence which the British settlers had reposed in the judgment and honest intentions of that excellent Governor, were the disgust and vexation universally felt by them, when they learned that his plans for the future government of the border were all to be set aside, and the Kaffirs were to be restored at once to the occupation of a large portion of the territory which they had ceded in 1819; consequently, that the Chiefs, instead of suffering any penalty for causing so much loss and misery by an unprovoked war, regarded themselves as rewarded for their efforts by a considerable accession of territory, that once more placed them in the impenetrable neighbourhood of the Fish River

bush, which had, in former years, been the great stronghold from whence their hordes issued to rob and murder.

The opinion which I was led to form upon the case of the settlers, was fully expressed in a letter which I addressed to a friend in England, shortly after my return to the Colony. The following is an extract from that communication.

“I have already seen enough to be fully convinced of the ruinous consequences, to great numbers of the settlers and country people, by the late Kaffir irruption. I am aware that well-informed persons in England never doubted this; and it could not require any corroborative testimony, if it were not that interested persons have sought to mislead the public mind on this subject. I can assure you that the effects of this fearful disaster will be felt for years to come, both as it respects the *temporal* and *spiritual* interests of the settlers; and I hope you will not hesitate to publish it as my most decided opinion, that if *adequate compensation* be not granted to the sufferers, it will be a most flagrant breach of faith on the part of the British Government, *who sent the settlers to the lands which they now occupy*; and it will always be justly quoted as a lamentable instance of neglect of British interests, by those who should have fostered and protected them, at the same time that they practically cared for the native tribes. I find that many of the ruined people are despairing of help; but I have endeavoured to console them with the belief that the Government will not abandon them; and I never will believe (unless compelled by facts) that any administration will refuse to recognise their just claims to compensation. You know my views on this subject generally, and they have undergone no change. The border policy of this Colony, for years previously to the irruption of the Kaffirs, had been very bad, and therefore was very injurious both to colonists and Kaffirs; but for this the settlers were not to blame: they complained several times of the border system, and very earnestly entreated for the substitution of some other plan. They now very

naturally think, that it is a great hardship that any class of persons in England should hold them responsible for the *effects of a system which they always deprecated*; and that to exhibit charges, which *have not been and never can be proved*, against an innocent and well-meaning people, because the system of which *they were not the contrivers*, but the *victims*, has produced bad consequences, is only to offer *insult* instead of *commiseration* to the sufferers.

“My utmost efforts shall be used in every way consistent with my office and character as a Minister of the Gospel, to calm the tumult of our people’s minds. In common with the rest of the community, they have been *greatly and injuriously excited* by recent events, and, considering the ungenerous treatment which they and their Ministers have received from a party who affect to be friends of the Kaffirs, but who, *in fact, have as yet done next to nothing for that people*, I cannot wonder at the indignation which is everywhere manifest, although I am bound, by a thousand motives, to exhort them ‘to forgive their enemies,’ and to ‘pray for them who have despitefully used them.’”

The British settlers, strong in the conviction of their innocence of the charges that had been made against them,—especially the allegation that they had gone on many Commandoes into the Kaffir territory, to make forcible reprisals, and thereby brought the Kaffir invasion upon themselves, which was wholly untrue,—resolved to place their denial of these accusations before the highest branches of the British Government. They successively addressed His Majesty (William IV.) in Council, June 17th, 1835; the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (Lord Glenelg,) January 23rd, 1836; and finally transmitted a petition to the “Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.” The chief points on which the petitioners complained, and the redress they sought, are com-

prised in the following extract from the last named document.

“Your petitioners are aware that their character and conduct have been represented to their country, by wicked and designing persons, as dishonest and cruel, as oppressive to the native tribes, and as factious to the Government; and they feel but too sensibly that they have allowed such slanderous accusations to pass unheeded, until they have fixed themselves but too firmly in the minds of their countrymen, suppressing that sympathy which they claim as their just due, and restraining the hand which would otherwise have been stretched out promptly in their succour and defence. A sufficient refutation of all such calumnies may, however, be found in the fact that, although the settlement of Albany has suffered so severely from the depredations of the Kaffir hordes, still, until the late general irruption, no Commando from this settlement ever entered the Kaffir territory, either to make reprisals or otherwise, with the exception of one solitary instance, where a party of its young men proceeded to the succour of the Kaffirs, at the very moment when destruction awaited them at the hands of the dreaded ‘Fetcani.’ In vain, however, have your petitioners put forth a denial of accusations equally cruel and unjust; the charges have been reiterated, and although they have petitioned His most gracious Majesty the King in Council, and also the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies,† urgently praying for inquiry on the spot into those charges which have been preferred against them, so manifestly to their injury, their prayers have not been acceded to; and they are still suffering under the withering effects of that calumny which has been so industriously circulated, and so generally credited, in every part of the British dominions.*

“That your petitioners having, as they trust, clearly proved to your Honourable House the injustice with which they have been treated both by the native tribes adjacent and by their own Government; having also clearly shown, from official records and admitted facts, that ever since this Colony has been a British possession, the Eastern Province

* “Dated June 17th, 1835.”

† “Dated January 23rd, 1836.”

has been repeatedly depopulated by the formidable inroads of the Kaffirs, and that their more petty incursions have been alike incessant, disastrous, and irritating; it now becomes the painful duty of your petitioners to advert to the late destructive irruption, when, without the least warning, and at a time to all appearance of profound peace, the barbarian hordes suddenly burst into the Colony, demolished in one short week the entire labours of fifteen years, wantonly murdered upwards of forty of the peaceful inhabitants, destroyed by fire 455 farm-houses and 58 wagons, carried off 5,438 horses, 111,418 cattle, and 156,878 sheep and goats, scattered and destroyed nearly the entire harvest of the preceding year, and committed other ravages altogether amounting to the total estimated value of £288,625. 4s. 9d.*

“The result of this barbarous and unprovoked inroad is that great numbers of the frontier colonists are reduced from comparative comfort to a state of such abject poverty and want, that it must be seen to be fully understood; and it will scarcely occasion surprise to your Honourable House, after the details which your petitioners have felt it their duty to lay before you, to add that the poignancy of their sufferings is immeasurably increased by the fact that the Right Honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch† to His Excellency Sir Benjamin D’Urban, has stated his conviction, that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kaffirs by the colonists, and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kaffirs had an ample justification of the late war, and that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment.

“That your petitioners take this opportunity of disclaiming most unequivocally any participation in conduct which could warrant or dictate the bitter reproach cast upon the colonists in this instance; and hence they are induced to appeal to your Honourable House for that justice which they have repeatedly and urgently prayed for in vain at the hands of His Majesty’s Government; and they now most humbly pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to

* “*Vide* Report of the Government Commissioner.”

† “Dated December 26th, 1835.”

take their case into its most serious consideration, and that such measures may be adopted thereon, as shall seem to your Honourable House best calculated to insure them,—

“1. *The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, to investigate on the spot into those charges which have been so injuriously made against them.*

“2. That they may receive pecuniary compensation for those ruinous losses which have recently befallen them, and which may justly be attributed to inattention to their repeated petitions and most urgent remonstrances.

“3. For such adequate protection in future against the aggressive inroads of the native tribes, as shall stimulate the plundered inhabitants to re-establish themselves on their ruined and deserted farms; as shall check that extensive abandonment of the Colony which is now in course of progress; and as shall restore that confidence in the justice and paternal regard of the British Government, which had been forfeited, to a considerable extent, by the adoption of impolitic measures, and by lending a too credulous ear to the reprehensible calumnies which have been cast upon a community of British subjects, whose humanity and loyalty they do not hesitate to declare are alike unimpeachable.”

It will be observed that a very unfortunate passage in Lord Glenelg's despatch of December 26th, 1835, had given the settlers very great offence. His Lordship had permitted himself to say at the conclusion of a paragraph, which blended both a correct and erroneous statement of the premises, that the Kaffirs had been “urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims; and I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion, that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain.” Seeing this view of the case prevailed at the Colonial Office, the reader will not be surprised that

nothing came of the forcible appeals made by the settlers to the Home Government. No Commission of Inquiry was appointed to "investigate on the spot," and no "compensation" was granted in any way to those who had lost their property. The sole satisfaction obtained was, that Lord Glenelg was at length, by the force of facts, compelled to make the British settlers a sort of *amende honorable*, which was conveyed to them through the Local Government in the following terms:—

"Deeply regretting, as he does, the promulgation of any statements which have given so much pain to *these loyal and meritorious subjects of His Majesty,—the inhabitants of the Eastern Province,—*Lord Glenelg has expressed his desire that the memorialists should be informed that *His Majesty's Government disclaim all participation in the sentiments which have dictated the reproaches cast on the character of the colonists.* He appreciates, and cannot but applaud, the solicitude of the memorialists to relieve themselves from the effects of the statements in question; but he has felt it, however, impossible to concur in the expediency of appointing a Commission of Inquiry. Such a measure would not, in his Lordship's judgment, answer any useful purpose, inasmuch as the report of a Commission, and the evidence resulting from an inquiry, would be too voluminous for general circulation; nor does Lord Glenelg regard the proposed Commission as a proper mode of repelling imputations on a whole people. He conceives there are other and much more convenient channels through which the memorialists, without incurring the delay, the expense, and the prejudice, which would attend an inquiry by Commission, might effectually promulgate their defence against accusation; and to those methods of vindication the parties concerned will probably, he imagines, think it expedient to resort."

I returned to the Colony just as the final movements were being made to restore the neutral country to the Kaf-

firs, and consequently when the excitement from this cause was at its height. The Wesleyan Missionaries had been openly assailed, and that frequently, by a portion of the press, and also from the platform, in England, as being hostile to the interests of the Kaffirs, and pro-colonial in their views and aims. The basest motives, wholly alien to those which ought to influence Missionaries in their intercourse with the native tribes, were attributed to them. One of their number, who had returned to England in consequence of domestic bereavement, was singled out for special attack, on account of a paper which, at a time of great anxiety, he had hastily written at the request of the Governor, the object and aim of which were probably misunderstood, but certainly misrepresented by the parties referred to. The whole of these proceedings were evidently got up to damage the Wesleyan Missionaries as witnesses before the British public; for it was known that while as anxious as any class of persons to secure the real interests and welfare of the Kaffir tribes, yet their views of the cause and origin of the recent war were not in exact accordance with the representations that had been made by those whom the colonists regarded as their enemies.

The result of all this was, that for a time a painful controversy arose between several of the Missionaries of different Societies. I was reluctantly drawn into it. While I was in England, I published a long letter, which occupied an entire page of the "Watchman" newspaper, under the signature of "A Returned Missionary." The object of this letter was to remove, if possible, the effect of certain misrepresentations which had been made about that time by various influential agencies. And after my return to the Colony, circum-

stances compelled me to publish a lengthy pamphlet in defence of the views entertained by the Wesleyan Missionaries, and the course of action we had pursued. It was remarkable that at the very time this was going forward, the Wesleyan and the Scottish Missionaries—most of whom sympathized in our views—were engaged in more extensive and energetic efforts than any others for the promotion of the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Kaffirs. It should also be stated that it was by means of three Wesleyan Missionaries,—the Rev. Messrs. Shepstone, Boyce, and Palmer, who adventured their lives in the effort,—that peace was obtained for the Kaffirs on advantageous terms, when the colonial force was in a condition and ready to inflict very severe chastisement upon them. Both the Governor and the colonists knew that the Wesleyan Missionaries only advocated just and reasonable arrangements: hence they often obtained a hearing, and thereby became the instruments in either averting impending evil from the Kaffirs, or otherwise inducing the Government to grant concessions, and make such modifications in the varied details of measures as were calculated to secure their interests and welfare.

In the difficult position in which they found themselves placed at this period, and for many subsequent years, between the colonists and the Kaffirs, the Wesleyan Missionaries simply followed the standing "General Instructions" given to them by the Managing Committee of the Society, in which they are reminded that the Methodist motto is, "The friends of all, the enemies of none." It was, however, not very pleasant to find themselves often denounced both by persons in England, and, to some extent, by individuals residing in

and near Cape Town,—six hundred miles distant from the scene of danger,—possessing no greater personal acquaintance with the matter than those dwelling in Great Britain, as a class of Missionaries who had betrayed the interests of the native tribes; whereas, at the time of which I am writing, they were enduring hardships and encountering personal hazards and dangers, while seeking to secure the best interests of the Kaffirs, to an extent that had no parallel among the Missionaries of any other Society, much less among those individual Missionaries through whose representations they were chiefly assailed.

Looking back on the history of the Kaffir border for the last twenty-five years, it has now become evident, that the views taken by the Wesleyan Missionaries were as sound in policy as the measures they advocated were in accordance with the duty of every well-regulated Government. We always maintained that our rulers ought not at any time to “bear the sword in vain,” but that our Christian and civilized Government should always be “a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.” It ought neither to commit nor to permit injustice, nor should it tolerate any breach of the peace. Without assuming the responsibility of endorsing all their proceedings, yet I believe, as a general rule, the successive Governors of the Colony were ever honestly desirous of avoiding the committal of any act of injustice towards the Kaffirs; but, from a fear of bringing on war, and thereby subjecting themselves to severe censure and probably recall by the Home Government, the Chiefs and people of Kaffraria who were disposed to behave themselves in a wild and intractable manner, were suffered for years to act almost as they

liked. They committed murders and robberies on an extensive scale, within the borders of the Colony, with almost entire impunity, especially during some seven years after they were reinstated in the neutral country.

During the greater part of this period one Governor held the reins; and made it his boast, when leaving the country, that he had strictly observed the instructions received from Lord Glenelg when he was appointed; and that the troops had never fired a shot against the Kaffirs while he had ruled the country. This was almost literally true; but every one who resided on the border during that period, knew that this course of winking at Kaffir depredations was no real kindness to the Kaffir people. It rapidly weakened among them the influence of those motives of self-interest, which might have gone far to restrain them from indulging their predatory habits on the border settlers. They saw that the most troublesome and restless among them—the Chiefs and people who most frequently committed depredations on the colonists, and enriched themselves thereby—were petted by the Government, which appeared afraid to check them; while the Chiefs and others, who showed a disposition to behave peaceably, and gave little or no trouble, seemed to be neglected, if not despised.

This period of licence at length produced the result that was long foreseen as inevitable; being followed by the war which was forced upon General Sir P. Maitland in 1846; and which, in cost and sacrifice of life and property, on both sides of the boundary, far exceeded that of 1834. The Kaffirs had become apt scholars in the art of war; and were better provided with the means

of carrying it on. The value of the property taken or destroyed along the line of frontier, during the war of 1846-8, was carefully investigated, and ascertained to be about half a million pounds sterling! Sir P. Maitland was at once a devout Christian and a distinguished soldier. He was so greatly influenced by humane and benevolent feelings, that no man who knew him can doubt but that he would have avoided this war, if he had seen any possibility of doing so. Never was a veteran General less amenable to the charge of a wanton wish to plunge a country into needless war and bloodshed. He tried, by negotiation and the most reasonable proposals, to induce the Chiefs concerned to come to terms, and avoid the alternative of war. In this he utterly failed; simply because the Kaffirs had been long prepared for the contest, and had formed a strong opinion that the English were afraid of them; and that, as they had during the last ten years provided themselves with horses and fire-arms, they would now be a match for the troops and colonial forces; while their vast superiority of numbers would enable them to "drive the white people into the sea."

The result of this war was that, after Sir P. Maitland and Sir H. Pottinger had successively been removed from the government during the progress of hostilities, Sir Harry Smith arrived, and concluded the war on the submission of the belligerent Chiefs; releasing the Chiefs Sandilli and Makomo, who had been some time a sort of state prisoners. It is a singular fact, and shows the evils arising from changing Governors and Commanders at critical periods, that Sir P. Maitland was just on the point of making peace with the Chiefs in January, 1857, on almost the same terms as those which Sir H. Smith

dictated on the 23rd of December of the same year, amidst two thousand Kaffirs and a portion of the British troops, all the Chiefs of Kaffraria west of the Kei River being present ; but then Sir H. Pottinger had been the intermediate Governor. Having been selected by the Home Government for his reputed great abilities, he was sent to bring the war to a close, and to settle the affairs of the country on a satisfactory and permanent basis. On his arrival, however, he re-commenced the war, which he found languishing and ready to terminate ; and, after expending more than half a million sterling, handed over the control of affairs to Sir H. Smith ; who, as stated above, thereupon made peace, on much the same terms as had been proposed, and were ready to be accepted by the Kaffirs, when the negotiations were suspended by the arrival of his predecessor.

By the arrangement made at this time by Sir H. Smith, the border Kaffir district, now called "British Kaffraria," was once more placed under the control of British functionaries ; and the system which had been in force during the period that Sir B. D'Urban was the Governor, was, in its main principles, again restored. It was singular that, as Colonel on the Staff, Sir Harry Smith had been the Chief Commissioner for Kaffraria under Sir B. D'Urban ; and having subsequently distinguished himself highly in India, as the "Hero of Aliwal," he had now come back in the capacity of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and once more established the system of which he had been the highest executive functionary in 1835.

For nearly three years after peace was made by Sir H. Smith, the border continued quiet and undisturbed. The frontier settlers were contented and happy ; and all

their affairs were once more beginning to show signs of renewed prosperity, while the Kaffirs seemed to have learned that the old Chief Pato had spoken truly as well as figuratively, when, being asked by messengers sent by other Chiefs to assist them in a war to drive the English out of the country, he replied, after due consultation with his advisers, "The rock is fast, it cannot be moved." How well it would have been for the Kaffirs, and for numerous border colonists, if this had, by the force of events, become the abiding sentiment of the nation! But, unhappily, the economical policy of the Home Government, strenuously urged by certain Members of Parliament, whom, if it was not known that they had been misled by erroneous statements, I should characterize as being apparently reckless of the lives and property of their fellow-subjects, residing in exposed portions of the empire,—once more prevailed. For the *third* time the troops hastily sent out at vast expense to protect the country during war, were rapidly reduced to a number so ridiculously small, for the defence of such an extensive and exposed frontier, that their apparent weakness—now more evident from their being stationed chiefly in British Kaffraria, and, therefore, under the daily observation of the Chiefs and counsellors—tempted the Kaffirs to try again the fortune of war.

This time they really had to plead what might be regarded as something like a patriotic motive for making an effort to drive the troops out of the country. Hitherto, as I have shown, they had not lost any of their territory since the arrival of the British settlers in 1820. But, on the contrary, for a period of from ten to fifteen years, they had re-occupied first a part, and

afterwards the whole, of the ceded territory, extending from Fort Beaufort to the sea; which occupation they had only recently forfeited by the war of 1846-7. Since 1848, however, the troops (not the colonists) occupied a line of defensive posts *within* their country; and thus enabled the British Commissioners, by means of a native police, to enforce the restitution of cattle stolen from the Colony, and by the natives from each other; and thereby, in some degree, to check the mischievous action of the Chiefs in governing their people. Hence, although no wrong was done them by the Government functionaries, who abstained, perhaps, only too much from interference between the Chiefs and their people; yet the existence of another race of men as conquerors among them, may not unnaturally have excited something like the feeling of nationality, and a desire to drive away their foreign rulers.

The inherent weakness of the system in operation under Sir H. Smith was the inadequacy of the military force and other means for overawing the turbulent and badly disposed. Had such a force been retained in the country, as would have justified the resident Commissioners in controlling more effectively the pernicious proceedings of many of the Chiefs, who had long been accustomed to impunity and licence,—and had the maintenance of a suitable physical force been combined with greatly extended and efficient moral and religious means for gradually diffusing Christianity among the people,—for which, however, the system made no provision whatever, while the Missionary Societies were unable to do it on a sufficiently large and pervading scale,—many years of peace would most likely have followed. By these means, time would have been

afforded for the growth of a more prevailing public sentiment in favour of peaceful pursuits, which had already been created amongst those portions of the Kaffir people who were connected with the Missionary institutions, and through them had, to some extent, been communicated to many other well-disposed people around them.

But, unhappily, the old error was again committed. The troops were once more reduced to a most inadequate number; and, as in each previous instance, the Kaffirs soon saw the weakness of the force in front of them. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for certain Chiefs to use their accustomed "dodge," and induce an enthusiast or a knave to pretend to have received communications from the spirits of departed Chiefs; and thus, by vague announcements and special orders of an absurd character, founded upon the national superstitions which the Chiefs easily enforced, to prepare the people for war. For this, when quite ready, they speedily found an occasion, at a time when a body of troops had been ordered to go in support of the native police, who had tried in vain to obtain a fine and restitution for some stolen cattle. Thus arose the war of 1851-2, in the commencement of which Sir H. Smith had a very narrow escape from being seized by the Kaffirs, and the troops at first suffered very severely. Sir Harry had done his utmost to prevent this war. His reputation was at stake; and he had every motive to avoid war, if possible. But although he tried every expedient that could be supposed likely to avert an event dreaded alike by the well disposed among the Kaffirs, by the border colonists, and by the chief officers of Government, yet all proved unavailing; and

thus a contest, involving still greater sacrifice of life and property than on any former occasion, was the result.

It is really distressing to look back on these events, and see how much mischief resulted from an unwise economy, which led to the two previous wars, by denuding the frontier of adequate means of defence; resulting not merely in great loss of life and property, but involving the British treasury in such an amount, (millions of pounds,) for extraordinary war charges, as would have been sufficient to sustain an ample force for a whole generation. The Home Government had once more repeated its previous errors, and weakly succumbed to the incessant calls made by certain badly informed, or "penny wise and pound foolish" Members of Parliament, for the reduction of the number of troops kept on the Kaffir border; and had thereby afforded opportunity for this third Kaffir war. But, as on former occasions, it hastily sent out, at great expense, strong reinforcements; including the gallant First Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which had not long returned to England after being employed against the Kaffirs in the previous war.

Both the country and the Government, however, at length became very impatient of the protracted character and enormous cost of the fruitless contest which was being carried on; and hence Sir George Cathcart was eventually sent to supersede Sir H. Smith, and arrived just as the latter, by a series of concentric military movements, had brought the war to its crisis, and left his successor the easy task and the glory of speedily terminating it. Sir George Cathcart had, however, the more difficult duty to discharge of making arrangements for the future settlement of the affairs

of the country. He retained British Kaffraria as before, but compelled the Gaika tribes to evacuate the extensive valleys at the bottom and up the slopes of the Amatola Mountains ; which had been their favourite residence, and their supposed impregnable garrison, for several generations ; ever since, indeed, their forefathers, intruding from the north-east, had arrived in that part of Southern Africa, and had driven out its original inhabitants of the Hottentot race.

The country thus evacuated the new Governor partially filled up with Fingoes, and the more open districts along the left bank of the Keiskamma by the Kaffir tribes of Kama, Sewane, and Pato, which were to a considerable extent under the influence of the Missionaries, and had taken no active part in the late war, but in various ways had assisted the British forces, and were believed by Sir George Cathcart to be more peaceably disposed than the other Chiefs and tribes. No doubt the Gaika tribes felt these to be most humiliating terms. But there was still a sufficient extent of land assigned for their residence within the limits of British Kaffraria ; and, by the arrangements which the Governor made, there was really no ground for the complaint which they urged, that they were crowded into too narrow a space. In reality, they were now to occupy a very fine tract of well-watered and grassy country, quite as extensive as that from which they had been expelled, but not so well situated for enabling them to carry on predatory or other warlike proceedings.

A tribe of Tembookies (Abatembu), living further to the north than the Amaxosa or border Kaffir tribes, having joined the confederacy of Kaffir Chiefs against the Colony, and become dangerous enemies on the

north-eastern part of the border, Sir George Cathcart now compelled them to occupy a district of that country which he assigned to them, and which, besides being a very fine country, is sufficiently large for all the purposes of peaceful life; and the lands vacated by them he formed into a new division of the Colony, (Queen's Town Division,) wherein he established a large body of Fingoes and other friendly natives, including the Tembookies of the Wesleyan Mission Settlement of Lesseyton. To these were added a considerable body of European settlers, who, being invited from the other border districts, were placed on farms of more limited extent than had been usual in the other parts of the Colony, so as to concentrate the population; and it was hoped by the Governor that, as that part of the country is open and comparatively destitute of any bushy ravines, which could afford cover for a Kaffir enemy, the united force of Europeans and natives, thus located in the new district, would be able to defend themselves in any future emergency.

These arrangements, made by Sir George Cathcart in 1853, deprived the border Kaffirs and Tembookies of considerable tracts of country, which had been previously either fully or partially occupied by them. But the reader is requested to observe that this was the *first time* after the arrival of the British settlers that the Kaffirs had been subjected to any such forfeiture of their lands. It cannot therefore be truly said, as I have seen it affirmed in publications in England, that the destructive wars which have been waged since the British settlers were placed on the border, have been caused by seizing the lands of the natives for colonial use. For more than thirty years after the arrival of the English

settlers, no lands, excepting a very small tract on the Chumie River, which was added to the Colony after the war of 1846-8, were taken from the Kaffirs for occupation by colonists; the whole of these wars having occurred *before* any such extension of the colonial territory had taken place at the cost of the Kaffirs.

Having filled this chapter in performing a mere act of justice to my brethren the Wesleyan Missionaries, and my fellow settlers of the British settlement founded in Albany in 1820,—by showing that whoever may be charged with disregarding the just rights of the border Kaffirs, we have done nothing at any period to render such an allegation applicable against us,—I will reserve for another part of this work the expression of my views concerning the best modes for promoting the future welfare and happiness of those tribes, which, alas! while I write, are in a most painful and distressing condition, as the result of their resolute Heathenism, and the folly and infatuation of their principal Chiefs. The only excuse for the Chiefs that I can discover is, that the peremptory instructions of the Home Government compelled the Colonial Government to exhibit such weakness and vacillation in the policy pursued towards them, as seduced them into the fatal belief, that they could indulge the utmost licence of wickedness, and disregard of the rights of others, with impunity. And this apparent weakness—not any injustice or harshness—emboldened them to commit the most daring depredations, while blind to the fearful reaction against themselves which a better-informed people would have foreseen must inevitably result from such a course of behaviour.

I need hardly reply to the absurd allegations, often, however, urged, that the settlers desired these wars

because they occasioned a large military expenditure, by which they must have greatly profited. The answer to this is, that the merchants of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and the farmers in other parts of the Colony remote from the frontier, are the parties who derived the chief benefit from this expenditure. The settlers of the border, on the contrary, during these wars, were always exposed, whenever they occurred, to the imminent danger of losing their lives, or having their homesteads burnt down, their cattle, sheep, and horses carried off, and the fruits of their industry destroyed; while, if escaping with their lives, they and their families were driven from their homes, and compelled to be mere fugitives, seeking a refuge and resting-place, for one or two years. All this happened, in many cases, before they could with tolerable prospect of security return to their lonely homesteads and usual avocations, which they had to commence anew, as if just arriving in the country. I had manifold and painful opportunities, on these occasions, of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the distress and suffering of great numbers of the people. The Government felt compelled, on the occurrence of each of the wars, to constitute a "Board of Relief" for the principal sufferers, and to place considerable sums at its disposal, which were largely supplemented by very handsome contributions from Cape Town and other parts of the Colony, as well as from those residents on the frontier upon whom the pressure of personal loss and misfortune occasioned by the war did not rest. When in the country, I was always a member of the Board of Relief, and, in conjunction with the Rev. John Heavyside, the Chaplain of St. George's church, and other Ministers, aided by several benevolent lay gentle-

men,—I was accustomed to spend hours and days, from week to week, in the regular Committee business, which occupied us during and beyond the whole period of each war, in careful investigation of the separate cases, and in dispensing the requisite relief to the numerous sufferers. In fact, as the almoners of the conjoint bounty of the Government and benevolent public, we had to find lodgings for the homeless, clothing for the naked, food for the famishing, medicine for the sick, and coffins for the dead. With such personal experience the reader will not be surprised if I refer somewhat indignantly to the groundless insinuation, that the frontier settlers obtained advantage from these wretched wars, and therefore provoked and prolonged them.

True, indeed, some of the settlers were so fortunate as to be enabled to supply the Commissariat with forage and grain, while others, obliged to abandon their farms, were glad to take their wagons and oxen, and form part of the wagon-train essential for a British army; and of course they obtained war prices and war remuneration for their services: but how could these persons, if they had been even much more numerous, and their occupations much more profitable than they were, in any degree influence the Colonial Governors to induce them to adopt a war policy? The successive Governors were ever too dependent on Downing Street, and too anxious to give satisfaction to the Secretary of State, whose inclination and position always makes him the advocate of a peace policy, to listen to any self-seeking settlers, on a question involving the serious responsibilities and heavy expenditure of a Kaffir war. No doubt Governors and Generals have sometimes complained, under the influ-

ence of some petty but momentary annoyance, that some persons on the frontier seemed to prefer war to peace for selfish ends; but these very remarks, whether just or not, only tend to show that they had no influence on the minds of our colonial rulers. It would be quite as reasonable to say that the war in the Crimea was brought on by the influence of the ship-owners and other leading Government contractors, many of whom made such large fortunes from that contest,—as to attribute the Kaffir wars to any supposed influence maintained by border settlers over the Colonial Government of the Cape of Good Hope.

I am sensible that this subject has already been discussed at a greater length than may be agreeable to some of my readers; but I would request them to remember that this chapter contains a rapid outline of many important events on the Kaffir border, between 1820 and 1855, a period of thirty-five years, terminating with the arrival of Sir George Grey to take charge of the government of the country. I do not wish to enlarge further. It would be easy to expand the subject by quoting a vast amount of documentary and other evidence; but the general reader will probably be satisfied with my declaration, that I have said nothing in this chapter which I am not prepared to prove in detail by undeniable evidence. If any one wishes to study at length the subject of these Kaffir wars, and to ascertain what was the conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and generally of the British settlers, in reference thereto; besides a careful perusal of sundry Blue Books, published by Parliament, and a "Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province," published by the editor of the "Graham's Town

Journal," 1836, it will be requisite to read a work published many years ago by my friend, the Rev. W. B. Boyce, entitled "Notes on South African Affairs," in which will be found much and valuable information. In the Appendix to that work, some documents may be seen, which dispose decisively of the charges which had been too eagerly adopted by certain persons against the Wesleyan Missionaries and British colonists. It is there shown that these Missionaries, in fact, only held the same opinions as those entertained by other Missionaries and Clergymen of established reputation, and, indeed, by all excepting a few of the Missionaries of one Society, whose principal and more prominent men had been misled into an erroneous view of these affairs, which, with small regard for our character or feelings, they propagated most industriously in the United Kingdom.

It is, however, a great satisfaction to myself and other Wesleyan Missionaries, that we have lived long enough to witness a great change in the opinions of some of the Missionaries referred to, and of many other persons, both at home and in the Colony. And thus we feel that the progress of events has made our justification to stand complete. Judging from recent proceedings and publications, I am happy to believe that controversy on this subject may cease. I would gladly have avoided all reference to it, but that in a book reciting the chief occurrences of my missionary career, it was impossible to avoid alluding to this matter without appearing tacitly to admit the truth of many grievous but groundless allegations against myself, and brethren, and friends, which still stand recorded in various books, written by popular and, in the main, deservedly influential authors.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXTENSION OF THE MISSION.

EVIL Effects of War—Missionary Resolves—My Visits to distant Stations—Seasons of Religious Revival—Periods of successive Revivals on this Mission—Excitement and physical Effects—Wise and considerate Treatment needful—Great Revival in 1837—Revivals produced valuable Agents for the Mission—Names and Characteristics of those who became Missionaries—Extension of the Mission in the Eastern Province—Stations in the Province previously to 1836—BATHURST—FORT BEAUFORT—Late Assistant Commissary General Smith—PORT ELIZABETH—UITENHAGE—CRADOCK—SOMERSET (EAST)—Difficulties of Itinerancy—COLESBERG—Incident that occurred to Rev. W. B. Boyce and myself—Its remarkable Results—BURGHER'S DORP—QUEEN'S TOWN—Late Sir George Cathcart—KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—"British Kaffraria"—Rev. J. Brownlee—Wesleyan Chapels—Rev. George Chapinan—Episcopal Church—A "Memorial" of Officers who were killed or died during the Kaffir War of 1846-7—FORT PEDDIE—Fingoe Settlement—Objections of some Persons against Missionary Labours in the Colonial Towns—Not applicable to the Wesleyan Missionaries—Never intruded where their Labours were not needed—*Subsequent* Extension of the Anglican Episcopal Church—Rebaptizing—Views of a young Clergyman respecting the Wesleyan Missionaries.

I WILL now resume the narrative of my mission, from the period of my return to Graham's Town in 1837. On our arrival, we received a most kind and cordial greeting from the people. But I soon discovered that the war which had desolated the country during my absence had left many sad traces of its evil influence, not only in much loss of life and property,

but also in the painful feelings which had been excited, and the great damage that had been done to the moral and religious condition of the whole community. None but those who live in a country which is the seat of war, can form any idea of the innumerable moral and social evils that arise out of a state of warfare. In many cases the schools had been closed, and public worship discontinued. Some chapels had been burned down and destroyed; and the population had been so disturbed in various parts of Albany, that the congregations were either entirely dispersed, or reduced to a few individuals. Not a few whom I had known as earnest Christians, had now become "weary and faint in their minds," while many of the best of the people were grievously discouraged.

The Rev. George H. Green and another Missionary had accompanied me from England as a reinforcement of the Mission; and together with the Missionaries then stationed in Albany, we resolved to give ourselves with special zeal and diligence to our great work, and thus strive to "build up the waste places," and under the blessing of God to revive the spirit of piety among the people. My duties, as General Superintendent, required that I should, soon after my arrival in the country, go on long journeys; first through Kaffraria, and afterwards beyond the Orange River, to visit the Missions in the Bechuana country. During these visits, I assembled the brethren for consultation on a variety of matters, having an important bearing on the interests of these Missions. The work within the Colony sustained no damage by my frequent absence on visits beyond the borders, since it was well sustained by my excellent colleagues, the Rev. Messrs. Cameron and Green.

We were not long suffered to continue in a state of discouragement; for it pleased "the Lord the Spirit" to favour us with "showers of blessing," whereby the Lord's "inheritance was refreshed when it was weary."

Seasons of revival seem to be specially needed whenever, from any cause, the Church has been brought into a formal or declining state. No doubt the fault rests with Ministers or people, or it may often be with both, whenever the Church is reduced to such a condition. If Ministers, Church officers, and people, were at all times watchful, prayerful, and in great earnest, we should never see the several Churches in such a state as to require special efforts and special grace to restore them to a lively and vigorous condition. How great is the Divine love and condescension, notwithstanding our too frequent instability and lukewarmness, in that, "while we call," He hears! He "turns again and revives us, that His people may rejoice in Him!"

Since the commencement of the Wesleyan Mission in Albany there have been *four* distinct periods at which special revivals of religion have occurred on a smaller or more extended scale. The *first* was in 1822, chiefly at Salem, when many young persons, men and women, were converted to God. The *second* season of revival was on a larger scale in the year 1830-1, commencing with the congregation at the first Wesleyan chapel in Graham's Town, and extending its influence to some of the country congregations. The *third* revival was of such a remarkable character, that for many years it was distinguished by the people as "the great revival." It began in the second chapel (Wesley chapel) in Graham's Town, in 1837, and extended to the natives of the congregation that worshipped at

the old chapel, and likewise to most of the Wesleyan congregations in various parts of the country. Hundreds of Europeans and natives obtained great religious benefit during these "days of grace." * A *fourth* revival of religion occurred in the year 1857-8, since I have returned to this country; and there is abundant reason to believe that it has had a very extensive influence not only in Graham's Town, but on various Stations, and among all classes, both white and black. As a consequence thereof, at the ensuing Annual District Meeting a large increase of members was reported.

During the several revivals that occurred while I was in the country, there were occasionally some remarkable physical effects produced, the result of deep feelings, both of sorrow and joy. In some we witnessed the fear, the grief, the wailings of penitence, and in others the joyous ecstasies of the transition from "the spirit of bondage" into the "Spirit of adoption," whereby they could cry, "Abba, Father." (Rom. viii. 15.) We neither prayed for nor strove to produce these outward manifestations; but when they occurred in connexion with what from other "infallible signs" we knew to be a work of God's grace, what were we, that we should withstand God, or that we should presume to prescribe to Him whether He should work by the "still, small voice of His Spirit," or by the thunder and lightning and earthquake of His power? In many cases, no doubt, "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" but God's word, preached "in demonstration of the Spirit and power," is often "a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces;" while some-

* Interesting details of these several revivals may be seen by referring to the "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" for the years specified.

times the rocks are so hard, that nothing less than a terrible process similar to blasting can rend them asunder. I will not say, however, that no impropriety or extravagance disfigured the progress of the good work. I am not careful to defend myself and my brethren in this matter. We were not unmindful of the evils incident to a state of great excitement among the people. There are many persons who, on these occasions, are truly awakened to an alarming sense of their spiritual condition; but who, from never having been accustomed to train or moderate the expression of their feelings, are apt to be wholly carried away by their emotions of grief or gladness, without giving themselves, for the time, any concern about the ordinary decorum and proprieties of public worship. I am no apologist for disorder; but I do think a judicious Pastor, if properly aided by the most spiritual of the people, will generally be enabled to guide the new converts aright in this matter. The sound judgment of experienced pastors and laymen may always be relied on: but although *all* mere extravagance and indecorum, whether of word or manner, arising from excited feelings, should be cautiously and promptly restrained; yet cold unsympathizing professors of religion, no matter by what name called, are not usually safe guides as to what is best to be done at such times to promote alike the honour of Christ and the good of souls.

Among the numerous individuals who were induced, during the several "times of refreshing," to devote themselves as decided disciples of Christ, and who have continued steadfast in their allegiance to Him, not a few have greatly served the cause of God in various capacities,—as Sunday-School Managers and Teachers, as Class-leaders

and Local Preachers, or as Stewards and Trustees of Chapels and other temporal concerns of the Church. Some have at various periods been employed as school-masters, catechists, and helpers, with great advantage, on our Missions among the native tribes of the interior; and it is remarkable that among those truly converted during each of the revivals of 1822, 1830, and 1837, there were certain young men who subsequently evinced, by their consistent piety, good sense, knowledge of Christian doctrine and duty,—combined with an “aptness to teach,”—such qualifications for public usefulness as have induced the Missionary Committee and British Conference, on the earnest recommendation of myself and brethren, to receive them into the ranks of our regular Ministry. They have proved to be a class of Missionaries not less remarkable for their adaptation to the peculiar character of our Missionary work in South Africa, than for their ardent zeal to spread “earnest Christianity” through the land.

It will gratify a reasonable curiosity in the reader, and at the same time be very pleasant to myself, to record the names of the excellent brethren to whom I now refer. They are the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, now of Palmerton, in the Amampondo Country, whose long and useful labours among the Heathen must be well known to all who are familiar with the Wesleyan Missionary Notices:—the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, who has greatly distinguished himself not only as a well furnished preacher of God’s word, but especially by his fluency in the Kaffir language, and his valuable aid in the translation of the Holy Scriptures into that tongue:—the late Rev. Jeremiah Hartley, who died while on a Mission in the far interior:—the Rev. John Bailie, a zealous Mis-

sionary, now stationed in Namacqualand:—the Rev. W. Sargeant, who preaches fluently in three languages, and is now in charge of our native congregation at Graham's Town:—the Rev. J. P. Bertram, a plodding and indefatigable Missionary among the native tribes, who is at present most usefully employed in the management of the Industrial School and Mission among the Tembookies at Lesseyton:—the Rev. C. White, now stationed in Kaffraria:—and the Rev. J. Daniel, now employed in the Bechuana Country, but who was converted to God and called to the Ministry at a more recent period. Besides the above named, there were two others, one of whom has entered the Civil Service as an agent of the Government, and the other no longer “followeth with us;” but both of whom were in their day very useful labourers in the Lord's vineyard; and, while now pursuing a separate course of action, are, I trust and believe, earnestly endeavouring to do good in their respective spheres among the natives with whom they reside.

It is remarkable that about this time there arose numerous calls for the extension of our labours into those regions, where many of our friends and hearers had been induced, on the departure of the former Dutch occupants, to settle themselves. Hence, from the year 1838, a period commenced during which our Mission within the limits of the Eastern Province of the Colony obtained a great extension, being introduced and established in many places where we had either never before laboured, or had only occasionally visited and preached the word of God. In going after the people of our charge, and thereby obtaining access to many others who were at the time destitute of religious ordinances in their own

language,—we simply followed what appeared to be an opening and call of Divine Providence.

It will serve to place the history of the Mission more clearly before the reader, if I now succinctly narrate the leading circumstances connected with the establishment of the various Stations within the Eastern Province of the Colony, subsequently to the events referred to above. Previously to the war of 1835, we had commenced chief Stations at Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, and Somerset; but the latter place was, after a time, abandoned, in consequence of the appointment of a Scottish Presbyterian Minister for the Dutch Reformed Church, who was willing to provide for the spiritual instruction of the people. The population of Somerset being at that time very limited, and the calls in Kaffraria requiring more Missionaries than we could supply, we were induced, perhaps rather prematurely, to transfer the chapel to the Dutch Reformed Church, and to withdraw our Missionary. On my return to the Colony, therefore, in the year 1837, Graham's Town, Salem, and Bathurst, were the only places where we had a resident Minister; and I have already narrated the circumstances connected with the formation of our congregations at Salem and Graham's Town.

BATHURST is a village most delightfully situated on the southern slope of a range of green hills, in the very centre of Lower Albany. The extreme beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, and its central position in the district wherein it stands, renders it a convenient place for the residence of a Magistrate; and as Lower Albany has recently been formed into a separate division, called the Bathurst division, the

Magistrate is now, likewise, a Civil Commissioner. There is, also, an Episcopal church at this place, erected on a conspicuous and well-selected site, of sufficient dimensions for the congregation. It is built with such just proportions, and in such an appropriate style of architecture, as to present a pleasing object to the eye. This village church, together with the character of the surrounding scenery and buildings, serves to remind an Englishman of many a rural spot in his own country of surpassing beauty, and associated in his mind with some of his most pleasing recollections. I used to preach at Bathurst occasionally, from the time when the first inhabitants dwelt in tents on their building lots. These services were continued by myself and brethren, with fluctuating success, for several years; until, in the year 1832, we built a chapel; and afterwards made this place the residence of a Missionary, who has charge of other chapels and congregations in the surrounding district. Port Frances is distant only a few miles; and should the public works now being carried on at the mouth of the Kowie secure a suitable harbour, the importance of this Circuit, where already much good has been effected, will be greatly increased.

FORT BEAUFORT.—This place is situated on the lower portion of the Kat River, and, as its name imports, was originally a military post, established with a view to protect the country from the incursions of the Gaika Kaffirs. Being a very important military position, its value as such has been rendered apparent to all during the existence of hostilities. On the return of peace (1835), the surrounding country very soon attracted a mixed population to its rich and beautiful sheep walks and cattle pastures. Hence the Government found it requisite to



THE GREAT HILL, IN THE DISTRICT OF DUBLIN, IRELAND.

establish a Magistrate at Fort Beaufort, and to attach a considerable district to his jurisdiction, which is now known as the division or county of Fort Beaufort. There were some individuals among the troops and the camp followers who were members of our Society, and, on their earnest invitations, we used to visit them, and preach to them as opportunity allowed. I preached at this place on my way into Kaffraria in November, 1823; but it was not until 1833 that the Minister in Graham's Town began to visit Fort Beaufort regularly once a month, the distance being about fifty miles, through a very rugged and bushy country, over roads that at that period were scarcely passable, and intersected by rivers which were without bridges, although often flooded during the rainy season. The journey was neither a pleasant nor a safe one; but the Missionaries cheerfully undertook this labour for the sake of some hundreds of their countrymen, both military and civilians, who were destitute of the means of religious instruction; there being, at that period, no Chaplain or other Minister of religion resident on the spot, "who might care for their souls."

Some pious officers and soldiers, aided by a few civilians, soon erected a small temporary chapel; and here the services were held, whenever a Missionary or Local Preacher visited the place; while, at other times, they held meetings for prayer and religious edification among themselves. This was the state of our affairs on my first visit to Fort Beaufort, after my return from England in 1837. Seeing that the place and congregation was likely to grow in importance, I took measures for the purchase, at a small cost, of an eligible site, on which, at some future day, to erect a chapel and school;

and I appointed one of the two young Ministers, who had accompanied me from England, to reside here, with instructions to try and build up the small English congregation; to form one or more congregations of natives in the village and neighbourhood; and to itinerate among the English settlers, who were rapidly establishing themselves on farms in that new but promising district. One or two excellent Local Preachers soon went to reside within the limits of the Fort Beaufort Circuit; and with their aid and the Divine blessing this place gradually rose into much importance as a centre of usefulness.

The Rev. George H. Green was the first Missionary stationed at this place, and during his residence a chapel was erected; being, at that time, the only place of worship in the town. Among the friends who greatly aided in obtaining the means for the erection of this chapel, was the late John J. Smith, Esq., who had himself been one of the British settlers, but, shortly after his arrival, entered the commissariat service, and by his excellent character, great talent and energy, rose rapidly through the various grades of that branch of the civil service of the army; so that, at the time of his death, which carried him off in the midst of his days, he had attained the rank of Assistant Commissary-General, and was in charge of the whole commissariat department on that frontier,—a most responsible and onerous office. He had been converted to God under our ministry at Graham's Town, and became a very decided and earnest Christian. While zealous in the discharge of all his military duties, he felt himself constrained to "confess Christ before men," and to render all the aid in his power, in the promotion of every project which

he deemed likely to advance the cause of true religion, in the place where Divine Providence had cast his lot. Some years after the erection of the chapel, a substantial school-room was built, which, besides affording accommodation for the English Sunday School, is let to the Government, for the purposes of the public Day School, during the week-days. A second chapel, on another site, was erected under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Impey, in the year 1849, and is used by a considerable congregation of natives, for whose benefit Divine worship is conducted in their own language; while a Sunday School is regularly held within its walls, and other means of instruction are afforded to the natives during the week-days. Several smaller congregations, European or native, are now under the care of the resident Missionary at Fort Beaufort.

PORT ELIZABETH.—The rise and progress of this very important place, on the shores of Algoa Bay, have been adverted to in a previous part of this volume. As already narrated, my first sermons in the Eastern Province were preached here, and I frequently received applications from the earliest English inhabitants to obtain a Wesleyan Missionary for their rising town; but a Clergyman having been appointed, and the London Society's Missionaries from Bethelsdorp, only a few miles distant, having also begun to devote their attention to the people of this locality, it did not appear to us that we were at that period called to send a Missionary to reside on the spot. Port Elizabeth is distant from Salem and Graham's Town about eighty and ninety miles respectively; but the Missionaries stationed at these places occasionally visited it for some years, and after my return from England it was

regularly visited two Sundays in the quarter. Several of our members having settled here, and others being desirous of regularly attending our ministry, and the population of the town, both European and native, steadily increasing, it was resolved to place one of our Missionaries on the spot. The Rev. John Edwards was the first Wesleyan Missionary appointed to reside at Port Elizabeth. The congregation assembled for some time in the lower portion of a house hired for the purpose; but in due season a suitable and substantial chapel was erected under the direction of Mr. Edwards, at a cost of more than £1300 sterling.

This chapel was dedicated for Divine worship by myself and the Rev. Messrs. Boyce and Edwards, in the early part of the year 1841. On examining the state of the building account, it was found that there was a large deficiency; but at a tea-meeting a proposal was made to grant a handsome sum from the "Centenary Fund" subscribed in the Colony, on condition that the friends would raise a similar amount, additional to their former contributions. This proposal was accepted, and the debt was reduced to about £100; which, by a second special effort, when the Rev. John Wilson was on the Station, stimulated by a generous offer of J. O. Smith, Esq.,—a leading merchant of Port Elizabeth, who, although not a Wesleyan, had rendered the cause much valuable assistance from the beginning,—was finally liquidated, and the premises freed from debt, thereby leaving the surplus income of the chapel available towards the support of the Minister. Since that time, the congregation has erected a school building attached to the chapel, for the accommodation of the Sunday School, and to supply

convenient rooms for Prayer-meetings and other purposes. The cost of this additional erection has been also defrayed by the people.

From the first, the Missionary stationed at Port Elizabeth regularly visited UITENHAGE. In this pleasant and picturesque town, the head of a district, and which is situated on the Zwart Kops River, about twenty miles distant from Port Elizabeth, we have a chapel and small house for a Minister. The work has been in some degree retarded in consequence of the Society not being able to maintain a resident Minister. The members and congregation, however, have shown their anxiety to enjoy this privilege, by making some liberal proposals to meet the pecuniary difficulty; and I trust this town, next to Graaff Reinett the oldest in the Eastern Province, and in every point of view important as a centre of usefulness, will henceforward constantly have a resident Wesleyan Missionary.

CRADOCK.—This town is about one hundred and twenty miles north of Graham's Town. It was originally established as the seat of magistracy and centre of a large district of wealthy Dutch farmers. The village was very limited in size and population for many years; but since the establishment of many British settlers in the town and district, the population of the place has greatly increased. It is now the chief mart and centre of business of a most valuable wool-producing district, and possesses a thriving trade. The Wesleyan Missionaries preached here at stated intervals previously to the appointment of a resident Missionary. I visited Cradock, on my way to the Bechuana Country, in 1837. The Civil Commissioner, whom I had previously known in Albany, kindly entertained me for a few days at his

house. The late W. Gilfillan, Esq., had married the eldest daughter of the late C. Thornhill, Esq., at whose house near Port Frances, at the mouth of the Kowie River, I used frequently to preach during my earlier labours. During my stay at Cradock, the Government school-room was lent for the purpose of worship; and I preached to the English inhabitants, who afterwards urged me to make some arrangement to provide for their spiritual wants. The Rev. John Taylor, a friendly Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, was too much occupied with his own very large charge to be able to devote attention to the English and the native residents of the town. As soon afterwards as practicable, I arranged a plan to secure the occasional visits of our Ministers to this place; and when the Rev. John Ayliff was subsequently appointed to Haslope Hills, being the nearest Missionary, I committed to him the duty of taking Cradock under his pastoral care, aided by the occasional visits of the Rev. George Green from Fort Beaufort. Under the superintendence of Mr. Ayliff a liberal subscription was raised towards the erection of a chapel, which was speedily built on an excellent site, which had been previously purchased for the purpose under my direction.

The following extract from a letter which I wrote, dated Graham's Town, April 1st, 1842, reports the progress of the work. The Rev. Thornley Smith was appointed as a temporary supply for Cradock, and was thus the first resident Missionary in this place. At the following District Meeting, however, the Rev. John Edwards was removed from Port Elizabeth to reside at Cradock, and took charge of the infant cause, which now required the constant oversight of a resident pastor,

qualified to preach both in Dutch and English. On a visitation journey to several Stations, in which I was accompanied by the Rev. W. B. Boyce, we took in our round the town of Cradock, in the month of March, 1842. On this occasion we preached the sermons at the dedication of the newly-erected chapel. The circumstances were reported by me at the time in the following terms:—

“After visiting Haslope Hills and neighbourhood, and settling a variety of matters of great importance to the Mission, but which would be tedious to detail, we rode to Cradock, which is from ninety to one hundred miles from Haslope Hills. Here we found the new chapel ready to be opened for public service. I and Mr. Boyce, with the Rev. Mr. Taylor, Minister of the Dutch Church, preached the opening sermons. The chapel is small, but neat; and it stands on land in the very centre of the village. There is ample room for a much larger chapel, preacher’s house, garden, &c., whenever the time shall come for further erections. The village of Cradock is now rapidly rising in importance; many English have settled in it, and in the neighbourhood, including several families connected with us in Albany. Many of the Dutch inhabitants of the town have shown a most friendly feeling towards us; and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, their Minister, has given unequivocal evidence that he hails our brethren as fellow-labourers in a great work. The contributions of all classes of the inhabitants to the chapel were handsome; the collections at the opening services were liberal; and a special effort was made at the tea-meeting, by which the entire debt on the premises will be reduced to about £100 sterling.”

The work continued to progress, till at length the first chapel was devoted to the use of the natives, for whose benefit services are conducted in the Dutch and Kaffir languages; and the English congregation, during the pastorate of the Rev. G. H. Green, built for themselves a more suitable place of worship, at a cost of some

thirteen hundred pounds. This very handsome chapel was dedicated to the service of God by the Rev. Messrs. Ayliff and J. Taylor,—the former preaching in English, and the latter in Dutch, on the occasion. The contributions to the building fund had been munificent, and the voluntary offerings at the opening services amounted to more than one hundred pounds.

After Mr. Edwards reached his Station at Cradock, he was soon invited to visit SOMERSET (EAST), where he speedily collected a congregation, who were glad to receive his ministrations as frequently as he could visit them. At length he was removed from Cradock to this town. We were greatly indebted to the help afforded us in this place, on the recommencement of the Mission, by Mr. James Cawood, and many of the British settlers. A small but neat and convenient chapel was erected at Somerset for the English congregation; a Minister's house was subsequently purchased, and adjoining this house a small school-chapel was built for the use of a native congregation. The Missionary residing at Somerset preaches in several parts of the surrounding country; and a most important portion of his work consists in periodical visits to a district near the Sunday's River, at the northern extremity of the division of Uitenhage, but situated nearer to Graaff Reinett than to its divisional capital. This neighbourhood contains many farms which have been purchased by a number of English settlers who, at different times, have migrated from Albany. William Carey Hobson, Esq., J.P., a near relative of the never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Carey, of the Serampore Mission, was among the first of the English who purchased these lands from the Dutch farmers, their former occupants. From the first

he established domestic worship, and invited his neighbours to Sunday services; and, at the earliest opportunity, solicited the visits of such of our Missionaries as were within reach of this somewhat remote and secluded district. The lands are of great value, comprising extensive sheep-walks; and various English families were subsequently attracted to the neighbourhood not only by its suitability for carrying out their views as sheep-farmers, but also because they saw an English community gradually forming which could enjoy the regular visits of a Wesleyan Missionary, and the great benefits likely to result to themselves and families from the establishment of Christian ordinances among them. The visits of the Missionary involve a good deal of toil and fatigue, especially at some seasons of the year; but this has been cheerfully endured by the several Missionaries, for the sake of a worthy people who are not likely to receive frequent pastoral visits from any other class of Ministers. A numerous body of coloured people, who are employed in various ways by these British settlers, also receive much instruction and attention from the Missionary on his visits, and from Messrs. Hobson, Robinson, and other zealous Christians. A considerable number of the settlers and their families, and also of the coloured people, are accredited members of the Society.

It will afford the reader some idea of the nature and difficulties of the long journeys often undertaken by Missionaries in the more sparsely inhabited parts of the country, if I insert, in this place, extracts from a letter of the Rev. John Edwards, dated at "Somerset, East, April 11th, 1849." No man has had greater personal experience of the difficulties which he describes than this

excellent Missionary ; and although the extract is long, yet the reader will find it very interesting, and containing a graphic description of the toils encountered by those who undertake journeys on horseback, especially in some districts of Southern Africa.

“There is one item in our expenditure which I shall remark upon ; one which, if we take in the aggregate in our District, may appear large ; I mean the item of *Horse Expenses*. Now it must be borne in mind, that, after all that has been done, or can be done, it is, and will be, an item of great expense. And this arises from circumstances peculiar to this country, which no device of ours can obviate, and over which we can have no control. *We* do not forget—and we believe *you* do not forget—and our Christian friends in England *must* not forget—that whilst we are Methodist Missionaries, we are Methodist *Itinerant* Missionaries. Here we have a field—a wide field—and that wide field must be travelled over, in order to fulfil our high calling of God to the Church and to the world. And that field cannot be travelled without the *aid of horses*.

“Many of the Circuits in this country are very extensive. This arises from the scattered state of the population. In this Circuit the Missionary resides in Somerset, a little town delightfully situated. In it we have a very neat chapel for the English congregation and society, free of debt ; also a smaller one for the Kaffir and Fingoe congregation. In these the Missionary preaches three times every Sabbath,—twice to the English congregation, and once to the Kaffirs. Almost every week between the Sabbaths he is in the country parts of the Circuit, more or less. In the country the congregations consist of English, and those who speak the Dutch and Kaffir languages. And not unfrequently the Preacher no sooner finishes the English service, than he commences in Dutch or in Kaffir, to another congregation : both being assembled at the same time, the one waiting until the service for the other is concluded. But it may be, and has been, asked, in order to lessen the expenses in those extensive Circuits, why those who are desirous of the Missionary’s labours do not send horses and fetch him to

their localities. There are many who are both able and willing to do this. But how are they to know the exact time when the Preacher can come, and when, having sent a horse some fifty or sixty miles, he is performing duty in another direction? 'Send a letter,' says one, 'and let the person know that you will be there at such a time.' The letter may reach him in three days, or it may be in three weeks. 'Where is your Plan?' says a Preacher of an English Circuit; who does every thing by rule, and where everything can be worked by that rule. A Plan! For whom would you make it? For yourself? In some of those Circuits the Missionary is alone: or, if he has one solitary Local Preacher, he lives some fifty miles away; and he tells you that on account of his numerous engagements, he can only attend to such and such places; and that only now and then; and that he will go when he can; and it may be he will be there on the 14th of the month, or it may be on the 28th, or even not at all. This is no reflection intended to be cast upon this class of worthy and useful labourers; but the circumstances of the country in many respects will not allow it to be otherwise. A Plan, I know, in an English Circuit is good and necessary, even to let the people know when they may expect their Preacher, and the Preacher can be there at the day appointed, and by the time he comes the people are assembled in the chapel to witness his ascent into the pulpit. Very different here! The Preacher must in some instances wait a day at a place, before the people from various parts in the neighbourhood can be collected. If you make a Plan to let the people know that you will be there at such a time, who can depend on doing so? You have your horses saddled, and yourself ready to mount; the rain descends in torrents; you are prevented from going on that day. On the morrow you start. After a few hours' ride, you arrive at a river; it is full, level with its bank, rolling down with fearful rapidity; to swim it would be madness in the extreme; to seek for a bridge would be folly; no eye has ever seen one erected on its banks. Return you must, or wait until it is down; that may be within one, or it may be within four days, or even more. You cross it at last. You then proceed. Soon you are overtaken by rain, and in a short time you are drenched

to the skin. You are obliged for miles and miles, in the midst of the pitiless storm, to walk your horse, fearing at every step he will slide and fall under you, owing to the bad state of the roads. You may at last find a bush, or a rock, under which you are glad to get, to have, for a time, a temporary and a partial shelter :—to find a house in some parts is out of the question. You arrive at last at the place, so long after the time your Plan stated. Where is the use of your Plan? Who can depend upon fulfilling its appointments at the time? But it must not be thought by this, that the Wesleyan Missionaries of Southern Africa do neither live by rule nor work by rule: no men work more methodically than they do, when method is practicable, and can be carried out. What, then, is the object aimed at in the foregoing remarks? It is to show that if a Wesleyan Missionary is expected to do his work in the Circuit, he must have the means of doing so in his own hands, or at his immediate control. Or, in plain language, he must have such an allowance as will enable him to keep horses to do the work of his Circuit at the time when circumstances will allow him to do it, and without depending upon the uncertain assistance of others.

“ ‘Why have the Missionaries horses at all? Why do they not walk to their appointments?’ says an aged father in the Christian ministry, who in his younger days was accustomed to go the round of an English Circuit, which comprised a whole county. Nearly nineteen years of labour in the Mission field has taught me by experience that the bracing air of old England is not to be found in Southern Africa. The writer well remembers, that within the six years he laboured as a Local Preacher in England, he often walked from twenty to thirty miles, and preached three, and sometimes four, times on a Sabbath. And afterwards, being appointed to an English Circuit where much walking from one place to another was required, he has been far less fatigued than he has been in this country with having ridden only forty miles under a scorching sun.

“ But why does the Missionary, in some of these Circuits, require so many horses? Because, first, not only are some of his appointments at a great distance from the Circuit town, but the roads to them lie through a dreary country,

and but thinly populated ; and it is neither safe nor prudent for him to ride alone. He may travel for hours, and not meet with an individual. His horse may knock-up ; he may fall ; the rider may be thrown, and in the fall be injured ; and where is he to obtain assistance, if he has not a man with him ? Imagine, also, a Missionary with a day's journey before him of some fifty or sixty miles ; and at every two or three hours' ride, as is necessary here, he has to saddle off his horse, knee-halter him, (that is, tie his head to his knee, that he may not run away from him in the wilderness,) and then saddle him up again : what would the Missionary be fit for by the time he arrives at his journey's end, when perhaps he has to preach that same evening after his arrival, if he had not a man with him to take off a part of the fatigue of his journey ? No man ought to travel any considerable distance in this country without three horses ; one for himself, one for his man, and a led horse. If it be again asked, ' Why so many horses needed ? ' it can be answered, secondly, Because, in travelling, we have not here, as in England, every where inns, where you can get your horses baited at every few miles, and thus keep up their strength and spirit. Here they are on their journey at intervals knee-haltered for a few minutes, to roll, eat a little grass, and to drink a little water, if there be any ; but often, neither the one nor the other is to be had. The day closes ; the rider turns into some house to tarry for the night. What becomes of his faithful steed ? Is he put into a comfortable stable, and well fed, after carrying his rider some forty or fifty miles ? No ; often he is tied up to a bush, or to a wagon outside, under the pelting storm and blowing wind, for the night, without a mouthful to eat ; nor can a mouthful of anything be procured for him. The next day, perhaps, he fares no better ; his work is no less, his food is no more abundant. Perhaps the following week the Missionary has a similar journey before him, in order to perform similar duties. Are these same horses fit for the labour of that week, which have done so much and suffered so much in the toil of the journey of the past ? Here, then, you will find an answer to the question, why so many horses are needed in some of the Mission Circuits. One of three things must be chosen : first, a sufficient number of horses must be pro-

vided to relieve each other; or, secondly, the Missionary must remain at home, and neglect his Circuit work, until his horses are recruited; or, thirdly, he must work the faithful animals to death by not allowing them rest and time to renew their energies, which are prostrated by long journeys and scanty fare.

“‘Ah!’ says one, ‘you see these Missionaries cannot go to their country appointments without their horse. Surely they must have a very easy life of it.’ Let us see if it be so easy. Set an appointment before him of some seventy miles from his home; he starts in the morning, with a native man, and, it may be, with two or three horses. He travels briskly for about two hours. His horse exhibits symptoms to the experienced rider that he ought to be saddled off. It is done. In twenty or thirty minutes he is again in the saddle. Two or three hours more of brisk riding, the horse betrays symptoms of languor and thirst: the latter he must endure until water is arrived at. At last water is found, the animal is relieved of the weight of his rider; again saddled off, and a little rest as before. Again on the road; the sun now scorching hot, the rider suffering under its relaxing influence; sweat running off in a stream from the poor animal. Two hours or more of this, and signs of fatigue and parching thirst return, both upon the horse and his rider. By and by a pool of water is in sight, which is neither very clear nor very sweet. No better to be had; can go no further; dismount, saddle off, knee-halter. The moment this is done, the thirsty steeds dash to the pool of water. *Keer, keer; de paarden zyn te warm!* is vociferated: ‘Turn, turn; the horses are too warm!’ meaning, to drink. The rider and the man descend to the pool, and get the first drink of this muddy water, ere the horses make it more puddled by splashing in it to cool themselves. The rider seats himself on the ground, under the rays of the burning sun, without a breath of air; he exclaims, ‘How weary I am!’ Is this easy? He sits a little; his thirst is somewhat allayed; the symptoms of an appetite begin to approach him. If he, or his kind wife, or both, are as thoughtful as they ought to be, he will find packed up among his things something to allay for a time the cravings of hunger. Scarcely done, and rested, before he casts his

eyes towards the north-west; the dark clouds are seen rising, which portend an awful storm. His horses are hastily saddled; but before he is long on the road, the rain descends; every thing about him is saturated. In this state he goes on until night approaches. By and by, he comes to a house. If the proprietor and the traveller are strangers, the following questions are interchanged:—*Wie zyn u, als ik vraag mag?* ‘Who are you, if I may ask?’ *Als u blyf, kan ik af zadel?* ‘If you please, may I saddle off?’ The best which such a family can afford is given. A request is made that the Missionary will hold a religious service for the family. That being performed, a bed is prepared for him either on some sort of a sofa, or on the ground. He lies down, and feels thankful for such a kind reception. He ruminates in his mind, and says, ‘Well, about fifty miles of the seventy are accomplished.’ Whilst thus thinking, the wind begins again to blow, and the rain descends in renewed torrents; and he finds that the house in which he is, is neither wind-proof nor waterproof; for both find their way inside in plentiful abundance. Whilst thus situated within, he remembers that his horses, which carried him fifty miles in the previous day, under the burning sun and pelting rain, are still exposed to the furious elements, and without food, and is more concerned for them than for himself. The writer has had many a waking hour, owing to the latter circumstance. The day dawns; the saddles are again put on; a start is made. In two hours the horses are again saddled off; a fire is made in the open air; a tin beaker, with a little water in it, is placed thereon; a little tea is thrown in—a cup of which is drunk with a piece of bread—and this forms the breakfast. He then proceeds until he reaches his appointment. Having finished his work there, he returns as he came; only, perhaps, with this exception: the rain and storms which pelted him on his way out, would raise the rivers to prevent his return home; on the banks of which, perhaps, without a house to shelter him, he would have to wait until it was fordable. Thus ends a Missionary journey in Africa. Answer, then,—Is it easy?

“‘But,’ says one, ‘those are not deserving of the Gospel who make no effort to lessen the expense and trouble of its being taken to them; for it is a maxim, “God helps those

who help themselves.” Yes; and Mr. Wesley says, ‘Go not only to those who need you, but to those who need you most.’ Now, those need the Gospel most who, on account of sin and ignorance, have their understanding so darkened, and their hearts so hard, that they can neither see the danger of their state, nor appreciate the value of the Gospel; and the glory of the Gospel must be shown them, in order that they may appreciate it; and you must manifest a care for their souls, in order to get them to be concerned for themselves. ‘Faith comes by hearing.’ There are thousands in this country, who in this respect are the most needy.

“These remarks are not by way of complaint, but by way of caution. We do not complain of our position as labourers in the Mission-field. We believe we are where we ought to be. We have everything here which Christian Missionaries need for the exercise of their piety and talents. Do we want scope for our energies and labour? Here we have it. Do we want success? The great Head of the Church has been pleased to give us that measure of it, by which we are encouraged. Do we want contentment and happiness in our work? I trust we have found that too. There are those to be found who are willing to labour in the field as long as God shall vouchsafe to them strength; who feel at home and happy in their work. But take care that your Missionaries are not too much discouraged. This they will be, if their energies are crippled: then the work of the Lord will be retarded. Their hands will hang down, and their spirits will faint, when they see so many openings of usefulness in their Circuits, and cannot enter them for want of means.”

COLESBERG.—This is a small town and seat of Magistracy for an extensive division, the most northern in the Colony, being bounded along its whole extremity by the Orange River. The division is still chiefly occupied by Dutch farmers; but its trade is principally conducted by English and Germans, who, with the usual proportion of various tribes of natives, form the inhabitants of the town. In the year 1838,

an earnest request was presented to me by several respectable English inhabitants, including the Magistrate and Civil Commissioner of the District, to send them a Missionary. At the same time they promised to erect a chapel, and contribute liberally towards his support. On the arrival of several additional Ministers we were enabled to comply with their request. The Rev. William Holden was the first Missionary appointed to this place, which is about 250 miles north of Graham's Town; and as the Stations beyond the Orange River were formed into a separate District, Colesberg became a part of the newly formed Bechuana District. Mr. Holden laboured with great zeal and diligence. Under his superintendence, a suitable chapel was erected. Most of the English families attended the services; and some of them, as well as other persons, original inhabitants of the town, were united as communicants and members with our Church. At a subsequent period, a house was purchased for the residence of the Minister; and on the same premises a school-chapel has been erected, in which the native people receive religious instruction, in the languages which they understand.

In connexion with this Mission, I may mention an event which will serve to show how God's providence and grace alike combine to prepare, frequently as the result of "small things," agents for promoting His great cause in the world. In the year 1830, the Rev. W. B. Boyce and myself left Graham's Town on a journey to Kaffraria. We were mounted on horseback, and we had also a horse, led in hand, on which were packed our cloaks and sheep-skin blankets, with other *et ceteras* needful for travellers in this part of Africa;

for at that time we were often under the necessity of sleeping under a bush, in the open air. Immediately on emerging from the valley in which Graham's Town is situated, our course lay over an extensive and elevated plain. Cantering along this flat, our pack-horse became restive, and very soon the straps and "*riems*," or ox-hide thongs, by which the pack was bound on his back, got loose; and as the cloaks now dangled about his flanks, the animal was still further excited, and began to kick and plunge in a very furious manner. Very soon cloaks, blankets, kettle, and drinking tins, with sundry articles of food, were flying in all directions. We had to dismount and collect the scattered articles again, and bind them once more on the horse, as best we could: but we happened to have at hand no very good contrivances for this purpose; and this vexatious and wearisome process had to be repeated several times in the course of a comparatively short distance. At length, wearied with fatigue, and finding we could not reach the "bush," where we had designed to sleep, before it would be too dark to proceed on our way, we resolved to turn aside from the road, and seek a lodging at one of the settlers' cottages in the location now called Collingham, where likewise we hoped we might obtain some additional "*riems*," or thongs, needed for securing the baggage on our pack-horse. I had but a very slight personal acquaintance with any of these settlers, and therefore we rode to the nearest house. I knew, by my frequent experience of the hospitality of the British settlers, that very little ceremony was requisite; and, going to the door, we simply explained the difficulties in which we were placed, and asked for a night's lodging, hoping, in the morning, to

put our traps into such order that we might be able to proceed without much difficulty.

Mr. and Mrs. Wentworth gave us a most hearty welcome. We spent the evening with them; and, of course, our inquiries were directed to the religious state and circumstances of our host and hostess. There was no church or chapel nearer than Graham's Town,—seven miles distant. They were so situated, that they had been rarely able to attend worship, or to hear a sermon, since their arrival in the Colony ten years before. Their neighbours were all in the same condition; and the children were growing up without instruction. Sunday was merely a day of gossiping and pleasure. "Well, but when I return to Graham's Town, will you invite your neighbours, if I come and preach to you?" Mrs. Wentworth's eyes brightened at the idea, and she answered for herself and husband, that they would be delighted to enjoy the opportunity. After a substantial supper, followed by our reading the Scriptures and offering prayer, our kind hosts made what the settlers call "a shake-down" for us; that is, partly with the aid of our cloaks and skin blankets, and something additional of their own, beds were improvised on the earthen floor, where we slept soundly; and in the early dawn of the morning Mr. Wentworth gave us coffee, and rendered us the assistance we needed to secure our traps on the pack-horse; and thus, after again reading the Scriptures and offering morning prayer with this family, we proceeded on our way.

So far the reader may see nothing remarkable: a similar occurrence may have happened to many a South African traveller, both before and since. But this incident produced fruit. The result of our little adventure

was that, on my return to Graham's Town, I took an early opportunity of visiting this location. Our kind hosts had informed the people what we had said during our unexpected visit to their house, and the consequence was, that they were prepared to receive me. By the help of several zealous Local Preachers, we soon collected a small congregation, whose contributions, aided by donations from friends in Graham's Town, enabled us to erect a small place of worship, which still stands, like a little country church, in the midst of this location. Here the people have ever since been accustomed to assemble for Divine worship, and, aided by teachers from the town, their children receive instruction in the Sunday School. Much good has been done in this village. Mrs. Wentworth was among the first members of the small Society formed at this place; and, after some time, her husband embraced the truth, and became an earnest Christian. Some years afterwards, he saw reason to follow what appeared to be an opening of Providence for the benefit of his rising family, and removed to Colesberg. Here he supplied the very want that was felt, viz., a suitable person to act as Steward and Class-leader, and generally to assist the Minister in the infant state of the work there. He was found, in all respects, a most valuable coadjutor; and both in reference to the English and native branches of the work he has rendered most important services to the Mission. Little did my friend Mr. Boyce and I imagine, when we were so plagued by a restless horse, and our want of a better outfit of saddlery, that Divine Providence would thus overrule our compulsory turning aside from our path, and that we were thereby unconsciously opening the way for the introduction of Gospel ordinances into Colling-

ham, where not a few of the residents and their descendants have been truly converted; who, in other places to which they have removed, are "serving their generation according to the will of God." As little did we foresee that we were likewise permitted in this way to sow seed which was to spring up, and, being transplanted, bear abundant fruit, in the far distant and, at that time, utterly barren soil of Colesberg. But God says, "My ways are not your ways, neither are My thoughts your thoughts."

BURGHER'S DORP is a town of comparatively recent establishment; it is the capital and seat of magistracy for the large division called Albert. This place, like Colesberg, is not far from the Orange River, being some seventy or eighty miles higher up that noble stream. Colesberg, Burgher's Dorp, and Aliwal, on the banks of the river, have been more or less included in our Missionary operations. Each of these places ought to have a resident Missionary, but, from our lack of men and means, we have not hitherto been enabled to meet the wishes of the inhabitants, often expressed, that we would appoint a resident Missionary to each. The friends of the cause erected a small chapel in Burgher's Dorp, and the Rev. P. Smailes was stationed at this place for some time; but the lack of more Missionaries, and the exigencies of our extended work, have rendered it necessary for the present to withdraw the resident Missionary, and this town is now only occasionally visited. It is to be hoped that we may be enabled once more to place a Missionary on the spot. Meantime, it is probable that the Bishop of Graham's Town either has already, or will shortly, supply them with a resident English Clergyman.

QUEEN'S TOWN.—This is the chief town of the new division called by the same name. It is a fine tract of country, which was for a time occupied by some wandering clans of Bushmen, and certain tribes of Tembookies. The latter were driven out of it by the events of the war of 1850-2. At the close of that severe struggle, Sir George Cathcart resolved to plant an English Colony on that part of the north-east boundary, which should be strong enough to protect it from further warlike inroads of the native tribes. Many of the younger and more enterprising British settlers and Dutch farmers, from the older divisions, were induced to migrate to this new division; where, under special conditions, referring to the future defence of the country, small but very valuable farms were granted to them by the Government. It is already become a well inhabited and prosperous district. Previously to the war, we had two Missionary Stations for Tembookies and other native tribes in this country; and as the natives, under the care of our Missionaries, all proved faithful, and rendered good service to the Government during the war, they remain in undisturbed possession of their lands. Some attempt was, indeed, made to remove them; but I strongly represented the great injustice which would thereby be done, and I believe similar representations were made by the chief official at the time in the division. My statement of this case was submitted by the Government for the consideration of the Hon. W. Porter, the Attorney-General of the Colony; who reported that the claim I had made for the Society and the natives, regarding these lands, was of so conclusive a character, that it was impossible to deny its justice; and the Governor assured me that he

would, on no account, be a party to depriving those people of the lands which they held.

When the late Sir George Cathcart returned from one of his earliest visits to this district, he desired me to call on him at his residence in Graham's Town. He wished to converse with me on some matters respecting that part of the border. Before the interview closed, His Excellency showed me a plan of the proposed Queen's Town, and, pointing out a building lot in a central and good situation, he said, "Mr. Shaw, I propose to transfer this plot of land to you, as a site for a Wesleyan chapel and school-house." Of course, I thanked His Excellency. He then said, "But you know I am a Churchman, and I ought not to forget my own Church: I have therefore made a reserve of a similar lot for the Bishop," pointing it out to me on the plan. His Excellency pleasantly added, "Although I have made this reserve for the Episcopal Church, *I know you Methodists will be there first.*" The fact is, His Excellency had derived this idea from conversing with some of the settlers, who in general entertain the belief, that no English settlement would be long established in the Eastern Province without receiving either the visits or the regular labours of a resident Methodist Missionary. It did, in fact, happen, according to the Governor's prediction, that the Methodists were the first on this new ground. The Rev. E. D. Hepburn, who was at that time the resident Missionary at Lesseyton, only a few miles from Queen's Town, soon visited and preached to the people; and, conjointly with the members and friends of our Church whom he found there, took the initiatory measures for the erection of a chapel. At the subsequent District Meeting, on the

earnest request of the rising community, accompanied by a liberal offer towards the support of a resident Missionary, the Rev. Henry H. Dugmore was appointed to take charge of the work in this new section of the country. Under his zealous and able efforts, the work, in all its departments, was consolidated and extended; and this Mission is likely to prove one of the most important in its bearing upon the religious interests of all classes of the people who occupy this fine country. A chapel has been erected, and also a Minister's house. There is a growing English congregation, and likewise a place in which the natives assemble for worship. The resident Missionary also regularly visits various localities within the bounds of his extensive Circuit.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.—This rapidly rising town is the capital of British Kaffraria, and, as such, is not included within the Cape Colony; but as the Missionary work here is precisely the same in its character as that in the colonial towns already mentioned, I deem it best to include it in the present sketch. This place was made the head-quarters of the troops by Sir B. D'Urban, after the war of 1835, when he proposed to retain the country under the British Government, with the designation of the "Province of Queen Adelaide." But as the arrangements of that far-seeing ruler were unfortunately set aside by the Home Government, the Province was abandoned, and the Kaffir Chiefs were encouraged to resume their uncontrolled authority over the country and their people. During the war of 1846-7, Sir P. Maitland found it requisite to resume military possession of King William's Town, and it was retained by means of a still stronger military force by his successor, Sir H. Pottinger. On the arrival of Sir

Harry Smith, peace was made with the Chiefs in 1848; and, by the arrangements then concluded, the province was once more taken under British military rule. The country retained the name given to it by Sir P. Maitland, and is now called "British Kaffraria." Since this period King William's Town has continued to be a large military dépôt. The town was early laid out, and building lots were leased to tradespeople and others who might find it a suitable place for business, either with the troops or the surrounding native tribes. A very considerable trade has consequently arisen, and the English and native population has gradually increased, till King William's Town now ranks with some of the principal towns of South Africa for population and importance.

The site of this town is on the spot originally chosen by the Rev. John Brownlie, of the London Missionary Society, and on which he established a Mission Station. Mr. Brownlie was led to select this place from two considerations: first, it was situated in the midst of the Amantinde tribe of Kaffirs, of whom his native assistant, the well-known Jan Tshatshu, was a leading Chief; and, secondly, the precise spot was selected from the probability which Mr. Brownlie observed, that the waters of the fine river which flows past this land, could be led out for the purpose of irrigating the soil. Many years before the Government selected it as the site of King William's Town, this laborious and excellent Missionary, with great judgment and personal labour, assisted by the Kaffirs resident on his Station, had succeeded in the difficult work of cutting a channel for the water through much rough and rocky ground for a considerable length, and thus

brought the water to the site selected for the buildings and cultivated lands of the Mission Station. When it was resolved to make this place a large military post and the capital of British Kaffraria, for which its central position and other great advantages render it peculiarly adapted, it was easy for the military engineers to adopt and improve on the plans of the Missionary, and thus to render the water supply sufficient for all purposes, whether alimentary, sanitary, or agricultural, which can be required for a town whose population may, in time, become equal to that of any other place in Southern Africa.

At the earliest period I perceived that King William's Town must grow into a place of great importance, and exercise a commanding influence over the whole district of Kaffraria; and therefore, partly by grant from the Government, and partly by purchase, I obtained good sites for a chapel, Minister's house and school. The Missionaries from Mount Coke, distant a few miles only, visited the rising town, and preached there. The Rev. John Wilson was at length placed here as a temporary supply. On my passing through King William's Town, in 1848, on my way to the interior, we made some preparatory arrangements for the erection of a small chapel. The foundation-stone of this first chapel in King William's Town was laid soon afterwards by Sir Harry Smith, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of persons, both civil and military. Of this building the Rev. J. W. Appleyard wrote as follows, in May, 1849:—"A chapel had been commenced previously to my arrival, and is now finished. It is a neat and substantial stone building, capable of seating about one hundred and fifty persons. The opening services were well attended, and the collections, considering the com-

mercial depression of the times, satisfactory. The cost of the erection has been in round numbers £400, of which we shall be able to pay off at once £300, thus leaving a debt of £100, to meet which we have a sinking fund arising from the income of the chapel. Most of the sittings are let, and I trust that, from the rent of these and from other sources, we shall be able to liquidate the above debt in the course of a year or two, so as to allow the income of the chapel to go to the credit of the Circuit."

These anticipations were in due time fully realized. This chapel continued to be occupied for several years; but as it had become much too small for the growing congregation, the building with its site was sold, and the amount obtained was expended, together with very liberal additional subscriptions made by the people, in the erection of a much larger and more suitable place of worship, which has been for some time past used by this numerous congregation. This great and unavoidably costly undertaking, the outlay being more than £2000, was commenced and completed during the pastorate of the Rev. George Chapman, who laboured with a combined zeal and prudence, which, under the Divine blessing, surmounted many serious difficulties. By his judicious plans and efforts, well sustained by the local Building Committee, the work was completed. It is pleasing to reflect that a handsome Wesleyan chapel has thus been erected in this capital of British Kaffraria. Near it also stands a residence for the Missionary, and a suitable building, which is used as a place of worship for the Kaffirs and Fingoes, where the service is conducted in the Kaffir language.

Some time after the erection of our first chapel in

King William's Town, the Bishop of Cape Town took measures for erecting a very handsome church, said to be the most correct in its ecclesiastical style of any church in this part of Southern Africa. It is not large; but, notwithstanding the advantage of obtaining much skilled labour at a cheap rate from the Royal Engineers, it cost a great deal of money, most of which was contributed in England, especially by the relatives of several British officers who were killed during the war of 1847. These lamented gentlemen were cut off by Kaffirs, who had stealthily surprised them in a very impracticable country, into which curiosity, or the pursuit of game, had led them to a considerable distance from the camp, under a delusive supposition that none of the enemy were in the neighbourhood. The Kaffirs never surrender as prisoners, nor do they make prisoners of war: hence these unfortunate officers, overpowered by numbers, and cut off from all possibility of retreat to the camp, were barbarously murdered. Their remains were afterwards recovered; and, together with the body of Lieutenant Nash, who had died in consequence of severe exposure in the service, and had been buried inside the old chapel at Wesleyville, were all removed, and interred in one grave or vault, over which the tower of the building erected under the directions of the Bishop was built; and thus this beautiful structure will stand as a "Memorial Church." May the Gospel preached therein prove "glad tidings of great joy" unto all classes of the people, and thus bring "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men!"

FORT PEDDIE.—This is a military post of considerable importance, as it commands the line of communication between Graham's Town and King William's Town,

from which places it is nearly equidistant. The post was at first established not merely to secure the line of communication, but it was also designed to be the centre of the Fingoe settlement formed by Sir B. D'Urban in 1835. The troops stationed here afforded protection to these Fingoe tribes, from the time of their first leaving the Kaffirs and placing themselves under the British Government on the invitation of Sir B. D'Urban. In another part of this work I will refer more definitely to the case of the Fingoes; but I wish to state here, that the Wesleyan Mission at Fort Peddie was established at first mainly with a view to the religious instruction of that class of the natives, many of whom had, in fact, come from our Stations in Kaffraria. But in this, as in all other cases where the circumstances called for it, Divine worship was established likewise at the military post, for the benefit of the English troops.

For a time the Rev. W. Shepstone, who was then resident at the Beka Station among the Kaffirs of Pato's tribe, a few miles distant, used to visit this place. Mr. R. Walker, an English catechist, was at length appointed to reside here; and afterwards it was constituted the head of an important Circuit, of which the Rev. W. B. Boyce took the charge. Under his superintendence the work, which had already prospered, was much extended. The course of events has brought a considerable number of English settlers into the Fort Peddie district, who now occupy the lands formerly possessed by the Amagouakwaybie Kaffirs. The village has likewise received an addition to the number of its inhabitants, and its trade has proportionately increased: hence Mr. Tainton, one of the original British settlers, who for a long period

was engaged as an assistant on our Kaffir Mission, but for many years has resided here, and who has always greatly aided our work in this neighbourhood, purchased a site, and offered a liberal contribution for himself and family towards the erection of a chapel. Many of the other inhabitants evinced a lively interest in the matter, and also contributed handsomely to the building fund. The chapel was therefore commenced, and after some delay, arising from the great difficulty of obtaining contractors who would undertake to complete such public buildings in a proper manner, in a reasonable time, and for a moderate charge, the work was finished. The chapel is substantial, has a neat appearance, and is well suited to the wants of the place.

This chapel has been for some time past well attended by a respectable congregation of English civilians and tradespeople, and also by a portion of the troops stationed at the adjoining military post. The Missionary resides at the native village called D'Urban, in honour of the benevolent Governor who founded the large Fingoe settlement in the neighbourhood. It is more than a mile distant from the village of Fort Peddie, but the Missionary celebrates Divine service at both places every Lord's day. Considering the vast extent of the Fingoe settlement, and the scattered manner in which the English settlers live on their farms, it is greatly to be desired that a second Missionary could be appointed to this important Station, who might take entire charge of the English department of the work, while the other Missionary devoted himself exclusively to the Fingoes. The necessity for this has long been seen and felt; but the want of men and means has hitherto rendered it impracticable. Meantime, one

of the Salem party of settlers, Mr. James Kidd, a catechist of excellent character, and devoted to his work, labours diligently in the southern part of the Fingoe settlement called "Newtondale," where he has been made very useful.

Before concluding this chapter, in which I have presented to the reader a very condensed view of the gradual extension of the Wesleyan Mission into the greater portion of the Eastern Province, I must notice a kind of objection which has been occasionally raised against our efforts among the colonists. It has been insinuated by certain persons, some friendly, and others hostile, to the Missionary enterprise, that the Missionaries and Ministers of various denominations have displayed a disposition to place themselves in too close proximity to each other, by occupying Stations together in the smaller towns and thinly-peopled districts of the Eastern Province, instead of going beyond the boundaries of the Colony, among the wild and barbarous tribes of the interior. No man acquainted with the history of the Wesleyan Missions in this country can possibly apply such a remark to them. No other Missionaries in Southern Africa have run greater hazards, or endured greater hardships, than some of the Wesleyan Missionaries, in their early attempts to take the Gospel to the "regions beyond." This remark applies alike to the Missions among the Great Namacquas and Damaras of the western side of the continent, the Bechuana tribes in the central regions, and the Kaffir tribes on the eastern coast of Southern Africa. In all these immense regions of Heathendom, there are vast districts of country in which they were the *first* Missionaries who took the light of Gospel truth among those dark tribes.

In some instances, indeed, they were the first Europeans who visited the tribes whither they penetrated, as "messengers of the Churches." When these undeniable facts are considered, it will hardly be requisite to defend the Wesleyan Missionaries from the insinuation, that they pursue sectarian objects, and prefer a residence within the colonial boundary, rather than devote themselves to the greater toils and risks incident to the propagation of the Gospel among the rude native tribes of the interior.

In truth, we were never intruders on any other men's line of labour, even within the Eastern Province. Long before the Dutch Reformed Church multiplied its Ministers, we often preached to the Dutch farmers in various parts of the frontier districts, baptized their children, and celebrated their marriages; but as soon as Ministers of their own Church were appointed, we gradually discontinued these extra pastoral duties, and were not sorry to be able to devote our attention more fully to those who had a greater claim on our labours, namely, the English settlers, and much neglected natives of all classes, residing in the principal towns and villages of the Colony; who, at the time when our Missions were extending among them, had no other class of Ministers that provided for their spiritual need. The principal towns and villages in the Eastern Province where Wesleyan Missionaries now reside are, Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Fort Beaufort, Fort Peddie, Somerset, Cradock, Colesberg, Queen's Town, and King William's Town in British Kaffraria. In none of these towns or villages, with the exception of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, was there a single resident Clergyman of the English

Church, or a Missionary of any denomination, when we commenced our labours. It is true that, in some cases *immediately*, in others not long after we had appointed Ministers to the above towns and villages, Ministers and Missionaries of other denominations were placed by the side of the Wesleyans in villages where the amount of population hardly warranted such a proceeding. But we never complained of this, although we had erected chapels involving pecuniary liabilities far beyond the amount of the voluntary contributions of the people, towards which we received no assistance either from the Missionary Society in England or the Colonial Government; and we had, consequently, to struggle against these difficulties with congregations for a time lessened in number by the withdrawal of a portion of our hearers, many of whom, very naturally, on the appointment of Ministers of their own Churches to reside in these several towns, drifted off to the newly-formed congregations.

After the Clergy of the English Church had been increased in the Colony, and most of the towns specified above had received a Clergyman,—in almost every case supported wholly or in part from the colonial revenue,—I had a conversation with a much and deservedly respected dignitary of the Episcopal Church, during which I complained that some children had been re-baptized who had been previously baptized by our Ministers when their parents had no means of obtaining baptism for them from Clergymen of their own Church. I also remarked on the want of catholicity which such a course betrayed, as well as its contrariety to the opinion of some of the highest authorities in the Church of England, and of the most reliable interpreters of canon law,

who held that baptism, even by laymen, ought never to be repeated. Our conversation gradually and naturally turned upon the juxtaposition of the Methodist and Episcopal congregations in the several parts of the province; and my reverend friend expressed to me the pain he felt on seeing in various villages that men could not be induced to worship together, but that everywhere "altar was set up against altar." I knew that the meaning of this remark was, that the Wesleyans ought to retire from those places, and leave the work of providing spiritual food for the English inhabitants to the "Apostolical" and "Anglican Church." Now, saying nothing of the great reason there was to doubt whether the evangelical doctrines of the Homilies and Liturgy were preached by some of the Clergy, and of the natural unwillingness of a thoroughly Protestant people like the Methodists to leave all religious teaching of the English inhabitants to Clergymen, who, however excellent in character, are in many instances greatly inclined to an excessive ritualism, and especially to an elevation of the Lord's table of "remembrance" into an "altar of sacrifice;"—yet circumstances enabled me to reply, that, if the "setting-up altar against altar" in the several villages was an evil, the Wesleyans were not responsible for it. If any were intruders and dividers of congregations, certainly we could not be regarded as such in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope. Being first in the field, it was hardly reasonable in those who came so long afterwards, to reproach us for being there before them.

A very young Clergyman, soon after his arrival in the country, ventured indeed to *say*, what the respected dignitary referred to merely hinted, that the Wesleyans had

no doubt done a great deal of good, and their labours in the country, in the absence of the regular Clergy, were very praiseworthy; but he thought that since the Church in South Africa had obtained proper form and completeness by the appointment of Bishops, the Wesleyans ought to leave the field to the care of the Clergy, now more numerous in the Colony, and proceed on their useful course as pioneers among the native tribes beyond the boundaries. When this expression of opinion was reported to me by the gentleman to whom it was uttered, I really did not trouble myself to find an answer. Nor shall I attempt to do so in this place. But having recorded an outline of the facts connected with the extension of our Missions in the Eastern Province, I leave them to the consideration of the reader. We are certainly not contemplating the abandonment of a field of labour on which we have expended so many prayers, tears, and toils,—besides many thousand pounds of money, contributed from time to time by our friends,—now that the desert is becoming a fruitful and productive field. With us it is indeed, in a case of this kind, “a very small thing to be judged of man’s judgment;” but “I speak as unto wise men: judge ye” (readers) “what I say.”

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH EXTENSION IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE.

REINFORCEMENTS of Missionaries—Methodist Centenary, 1839—Appointment of newly-arrived Missionaries—Right Missionary Spirit—My numerous Occupations—General Superintendency—Progress of the Work in Graham's Town—New and larger Chapel required—Resolve to build—Commemoration Day of the British Settlement—Its Observance in 1844—Commemoration Chapel—Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone—Names of Trustees, &c.—Impediments to the Erection—Dedication Services—Reduction of heavy Debt—Commemoration Collections—Continued Growth of Congregation—Two more Chapels—Foundation Stone of West Hill Chapel—General Progress throughout the Province—Native Africans—Day and Sunday Schools—Ecclesiastical Grants—Results at Salem—Government Grants not regulated equitably—Liberal Contributions of Wesleyan Congregations—Other Denominations of Christians—Increase in the Numbers of Ministers and Churches or Chapels—Character of Ministers residing in the Province—Conclusion.

THE great extension of our Mission into nearly all parts of the Eastern Province, which I have described in the preceding very condensed statement, could not have been effected unless the number of the Missionaries had been increased by fresh reinforcements from home. But the ever-growing liberality of the Methodist people enabled the Missionary Committee to send two young Missionaries with me on my return in 1836; and these were followed by the Rev. Messrs. J. Richards and William Impey in 1837. The Rev. Messrs. Cameron and Giddy were transferred from the

Western Province, and the Rev. W. H. Garner was sent from England, during my absence from the District. It was, however, the extraordinary munificence displayed by our numerous friends during the year 1839, on occasion of the celebration of the Centenary of Methodism, that encouraged them to respond, to a much greater extent than I had anticipated, to our representations of the desirableness of sending more Missionaries for South-Eastern Africa. At the Conference of that year, the Rev. Messrs. F. Taylor, Gladwin, Pearce, Holden, J. S. Thomas, J. W. Appleyard, John Smith, and Thornley Smith were appointed, and in due season sent forth as a reinforcement for the extensive District under my superintendence. The Rev. Messrs. Archbell and W. J. Davis also returned at the same time from a short visit to England, rendered necessary by affliction and other domestic causes. While this large increase of our number enabled us greatly to extend our Mission among the native tribes beyond the borders of the Colony, it likewise furnished us with men to occupy the colonial Stations which about that time presented inviting openings for usefulness, among large numbers of people who were nearly destitute of all other means of religious instruction. Thus our Mission in South-Eastern Africa derived a great impetus and benefit from that noble Centenary movement, which so largely tended to promote the vigorous action of various important institutions, connected with the HOME operations of Methodism, as well as to advance the interests of the great Missionary cause.

In referring to the observance of the Centenary among the Societies and congregations at home, and

the munificent donations presented as thank-offerings to the Lord, for personal, family, and national benefits conferred by the agency of Methodism during one hundred years, I am gratified to be able to state, that our people in South-Eastern Africa entered deeply into the spirit of the movement. They showed by most unmistakeable signs a warm interest in all that concerned the welfare of our religious community; while their gratitude for manifold benefits conferred upon them and theirs by a Wesleyan Ministry in that part of the world, was displayed in an amount of generous gifts to the great cause, not surpassed, when their relative circumstances are considered, by any Societies or congregations in England. I cannot more clearly exhibit this fact than by inserting an extract from a letter which I wrote, under date August 23rd, 1839, reporting the commencement of the Centenary celebration in Graham's Town.

“On Sunday last, August 18th, 1839, Mr. Boyce and myself, according to the previous arrangement of the provisional committee, preached sermons with reference to the *Centenary* of Methodism, availing ourselves of the opportunity of bringing under review the personal character and labours of the Rev. John Wesley, and the rise, progress, and present state of the Wesleyan-Methodist Societies throughout the world. On Tuesday evening, from four to five hundred members of our Society and congregation sat down to tea in our large new school-house. You will readily believe, that to me it was a very interesting sight, to see so large a Methodist family collected together, when I say, that I distinctly remember forming the first class in this town, in 1820, which consisted of not more than seven members. The number who would have gladly attended the tea-meeting, would have been much greater, had it been possible to obtain room for them within the building. After the tea-meeting we adjourned to the chapel, which was crowded by those who had obtained cards of admission. I

need not detail the manner in which the meeting was conducted. After the devotional services, and an address from myself, explanatory of the reasons of this Centenary observance, and also of the manner in which the Centenary Fund is to be appropriated, I left the whole affair with the people themselves, and very soon various respected individuals rose in rapid succession, and spoke, in a spirit of pious gratitude, of the innumerable benefits conferred upon themselves and families, by the Divine blessing on Wesleyan agencies. Blank papers, with writing materials, were ready to record the thank-offerings of the people;—these were very freely used; and I was called upon to read paper after paper, containing a statement of the sums intended to be presented to the fund. One highly respectable friend gave £75, others from £30 to £50 or £60, and, at an early period of the meeting, an aged member of the Society, from the West of England,—whom, with his sons, God has greatly prospered since their arrival in this country,—presented, for himself and numerous family, £150 sterling. These good examples were very readily followed; and you will, I am persuaded, be surprised to hear, that the amount contributed, before the close of the first night's meeting, reached the sum of £1884. As it became late, I was obliged to adjourn the meeting to the next evening, so as to give further time to some of our friends, who had not had an opportunity of consulting with their families as to what offerings they ought to present. The adjourned meeting was held last night, (August 22nd,) and was conducted in the same manner as on the preceding evening; and it was also characterized by the same pious, happy, and harmonious feeling. The additional amount subscribed at the adjourned meeting was about £264; making the total amount contributed at this Centenary Meeting for Graham's Town, not less than £2150 sterling. In this sum are included several handsome donations from country friends residing in the Fort Beaufort Circuit; but it will yet receive a considerable addition from the country places, where we design shortly to hold Centenary Meetings, which will be attended by several Ministers and other friends, who have been appointed as deputations for that purpose."

"I question whether, even in England, any Society, com-

prising only a similar number of individuals, has made a greater effort than this,—always, of course, excepting the individual munificent donations of hundreds and thousands from the more wealthy members of our United Society. You appear to have had happy meetings throughout England and Ireland; but happy beyond description must they have been, if, in this respect, they exceeded our meetings here. However, be this as it may, I feel confident, that in no place could the devotional feeling be higher, than it was among the Wesleyans of Graham's Town, when, assembled in their chapel, they sang, as with one great united heart and mighty voice, in a fine old psalm tune,—

‘ All hail, “ a hundred years ago ! ”

And when our lips are dumb,

Be millions heard rejoicing so

A hundred years to come ! ” ’

From the total amount contributed, two thousand pounds were remitted to the treasurers of the Centenary Fund in England; and the remainder was applied, in grants, towards the erection of new chapels in various places; Port Elizabeth receiving the largest amount of assistance from this source.

The newly appointed Missionaries and their excellent wives all arrived safely at Graham's Town, on the 18th of March, 1840; and shortly afterwards we held a District Meeting at the Mission-house at D'Urban, near Fort Peddie, where the Rev. W. B. Boyce was in charge of that recently commenced Mission. At this meeting, which was attended by more than twenty Missionaries, after much and fervent prayer to God for direction, we deliberated upon and fully discussed the various points connected with the final disposal of our increased force of men. The result was, that the Colonial Missions, the Missions in the Bechuana District, and in the remoter regions of Kaffraria, were simultaneously increased and extended, and every man

proceeded, as speedily as circumstances would allow, to occupy the allotted sphere of his labour. I had much to do, and serious responsibilities to incur, in providing all these brethren with the indispensable outfits of wagons, oxen, horses, tools, implements, &c., without which it would have been impracticable and useless for them to proceed to their respective destinations. But my burdensome occupations were rendered comparatively easy and pleasant by the good spirit which pervaded the minds of the Missionaries, and the readiness they displayed to go anywhere, and do anything, so that they might be useful, and promote the great object of our Mission in "winning souls" for Christ.

The tone of feeling among these newly arrived Missionaries is well expressed in the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. W. J. Davis, April 23rd, 1840. In explaining his own state of mind at this time, I feel assured he was but describing the sentiments that actuated the whole party. "For myself, I go to this work not ignorant of the many trials and discouragements connected therewith; but, at the same time, highly encouraged with the 'signs of the times,' and looking for the accomplishment of those great and blessed promises of God's word which relate to the final triumph of the Gospel, and the subjugation of the whole earth to Him whose is the right to govern, and of the increase of whose kingdom there shall be no end. To be in any way instrumental in bringing about such a state of things, is at once the highest honour and the greatest bliss God can bestow on mortals. May we all henceforth live only for Him, who has given Himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time!"

From the increased efforts now put forth in various

directions, my mind was unavoidably and greatly occupied by a variety of cares and anxieties in the management of the temporalities of the Mission. I was obliged to take many long and toilsome journeys for the purpose of visiting the various Stations, and advising the brethren and people in a multiplicity of concerns connected with our work. We had chapels, school-houses, and Ministers' dwelling-houses to erect. I could obtain very little help from any quarter in the preparation of building plans, or in examining and checking estimates and expenditure on these various objects; and while the Missionaries kindly reposed unbounded confidence in me, they looked to me to provide, by grants, or loans, or by begging, for the deficiencies in the means which they raised in the several localities in aid of these undertakings. It is not easy for the managers of our church affairs in England,—now so systematized and placed in their several departments under the care of highly competent committees of Ministers and lay gentlemen,—to comprehend the perplexing character and diversified nature of the anxieties and duties which from this period, and many years afterwards, devolved upon me. I was in effect, for a long period, the steward of every Circuit, universal trustee, and chief manager of the finance of all chapels and schools, or other buildings; treasurer of the Auxiliary Missionary Society for the District. The entire accounts of the expenditure of the money granted by the Missionary Society were kept by me. In order to provide for the personal claims of each Missionary, and the authorized miscellaneous expenditure for schools, buildings, &c., on his Station, I was compelled, for a long time previously to the establishment of local banks in the

Colony, to act as the personal banker of every Missionary, who was obliged to draw upon me for sums of money as he required them, and as he could negotiate the requisite drafts, there being no available means of making regular remittances to any of the Stations. Of course, this involved the necessity of detailed accounts with each individual Missionary, Teacher, or other person employed in any department of the work. It likewise became my duty to examine, in conjunction with my brethren, all the accounts at the Annual District Meetings, and to send a full, clear, and detailed statement, every year, to the Mission House in London, of the expenditure of all moneys granted by the Society, and drawn by me upon the general treasurers, for the support of our extended Mission. To these engagements were added constant correspondence with the Missionary Secretaries in England, and with every Missionary in the District, often at great length, on the affairs, spiritual and temporal, of the Mission; besides very frequently the requisite attention to many communications, to and from the various officers and functionaries of the Colonial Government, on questions either affecting the interests of the native tribes, or the propagation of the Gospel among them. After this recital, the reader will readily believe that my time was fully occupied, and my mind kept in a constant state of activity; for in addition to all that I have mentioned above, in "that which came upon me daily, the care of all our Churches," in South-Eastern Africa, I had regularly to preach on the Lord's day, and, when in Graham's Town, very frequently to a large and respectable English congregation, which had been accustomed to listen to me for many years.

I have entered into these details not in any spirit of boasting. Alas ! I must, and do, with no affectation of humility, confess myself an unprofitable servant. But my object is to give to the reader some idea of the office and work of a General Superintendent in the infant or early state of our Missions, more especially in countries and among peoples similar to those where my lot was cast. Some Methodists and Ministers inconsiderately object to this office ; but they evidently do so either in utter ignorance or obliviousness of the fact, that it is one of the very few offices which now exist among the Ministers of Wesleyan Methodism, that were created by the venerable Wesley himself. His large knowledge and experience of men and things taught him that whether Methodism is to have an order of Bishops or not, the necessities which unavoidably arise in an infantile state of the work in most countries, require that some individual should be placed in a position, not indeed of pre-eminence over his brethren, as if he belonged to a higher order of Ministers, but simply authorizing the exercise of larger powers, and conferring the privilege of being “in labours more abundant,” so that he may watch over and conserve the frequently feeble and desultory movements of a new Mission. As the work gains strength and permanence, it is highly desirable, in the case of our Missions at least, that the General Superintendent should steadily endeavour to mould the rising Societies and congregations, as nearly as may be, after the same model as that which now obtains in England. Hence, for some years before I left the country, and quite as soon as circumstances would admit, I advocated the gradual introduction of a system of Committees, including a full

complement of lay members, to aid in the management of our temporal and other affairs; and improvements in this direction will, I trust, be steadily introduced, as circumstances will allow, in all the Districts, till at length the Wesleyan Missions will stand forth in their full proportion, and with a well defined and complete system of discipline, as the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

To enter into minute details concerning the progress of the work in the various Stations within the Eastern Province, after their first establishment, as already recorded in a previous chapter, would render this book much larger than I design it to be, or than would be likely to prove interesting to the general reader. I will, therefore, chiefly confine myself to some statements relative to the further progress of the work in Graham's Town, where I principally resided. In the course of years, congregations of other denominations of Christians were formed, and also prospered; yet a gradual increase of the population, and the watchful care exercised over the numerous children and young persons connected with our Sunday Schools, combined to furnish us with a constant supply of new hearers to occupy the places of the dead, and of those who from time to time emigrated to other parts, or sought other spiritual pastures; and thus the numbers of our English and native congregations not only kept up, but steadily increased.

In consequence of this increase, the want of more chapel accommodation was from time to time urged upon our attention. When the second chapel, called "Wesley chapel," was opened in the year 1832, the original chapel was assigned for the use of the native

congregation; but, about the year 1841, "Wesley chapel" had become much too small to meet the numerous applications for pews, on the part of those who desired to worship with us. Some time afterwards a plan was projected for its enlargement, and raising the walls to a sufficient height to correspond with the increased area of the building; but on obtaining plans and tenders for this object, the trustees, after much discussion and consideration, finally agreed that the wiser, more economical, and better course would be to erect another chapel, of such dimensions that it would admit of a large increase in the congregation, and provide room for its growth during some years to come. The native congregation had been already divided into two parts: one portion, for whom Divine service is celebrated in the Dutch language, was removed into a suitable building that had been built for a school-house; but, being provided with some simple fittings, was made into a very convenient school-chapel, for the benefit of this class of the black and coloured community. The majority of our native congregations consisted, however, of Kaffirs of various tribes and nations, who could only be instructed through the medium of the Kaffir language, and they required more accommodation. Hence it was resolved to sell the original chapel, and, on the completion of the proposed new building, to transfer the Kaffir congregation to Wesley chapel.

The project of erecting a large first-class chapel, such as it was now thought requisite to build for the English congregation in Graham's Town, however desirable, was likely to prove an undertaking of such cost and magnitude, that I felt no small doubt and diffidence in entering upon it, seeing that I feared it might tax our

resources beyond our ability. There was a very serious difficulty in obtaining a proper site; for it was obvious that such a building as we contemplated ought to be placed in a central, and in all other respects suitable, locality. All the most desirable spots had long ago become private property, and land in the most suitable parts of the High Street, or principal and central street of the town, had attained a high value. The Trustees attempted to purchase one very convenient site, adjoining the western side of the recently erected Wesleyan Mission House, but failed; and we were at last compelled to purchase, at a cost of more than £2,000, a very eligible property on the opposite side of High Street, but which has in its front the whole length of the broad and handsome thoroughfare called Bathurst Street. There was a dwelling-house and store upon the property, the greater and more valuable portion of which had to be removed, in order to clear a sufficient space for the new chapel. This was a bold beginning. But a subscription list, comprising the promise of many large contributions from some twenty friends who consented to accept the office and responsibilities of trustees of the proposed chapel, and a very numerous roll of names, with handsome donations from nearly the whole of our people, ultimately justified the belief which I had begun to entertain, that we should be sustained in our undertaking; and in the year 1844 unexpected circumstances arose, which I will here narrate; for they materially aided our project.

In the early part of the year just named, a proposal was made, through the "Graham's Town Journal," to commemorate the arrival of the British settlers in Algoa Bay, in the year 1820. It was urged by various per-

sons that a public holiday, to be kept as a "Commemoration Day," would afford an opportunity for the mass of the original settlers and their descendants to assemble together; and after some combined public acts of devotion, wherein their thanksgivings might be offered to Almighty God for all His goodness towards them since they had come to dwell in the land, they could in social assemblages of various kinds talk over the past, and animate each other with good hopes and resolutions as to the future. The proposal obtained very general approval among the settlers resident in Graham's Town, Salem, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, and elsewhere. Committees were formed to make arrangements; and it was resolved that the "Commemoration Day" should be fixed for April 10th, being the anniversary of the day whereon the first party of British settlers, headed by Mr. Baillie, landed on the shores of Algoa Bay. In Graham's Town it was decided, with almost universal consent, that all denominations should assemble for public worship in one place; and that as I was the only individual in Albany who had come with the settlers in the capacity of Minister or Chaplain, I should be invited to preach the sermon on this occasion. St. George's church, now the cathedral, being the largest building, it was further resolved to ask for that place of worship for this purpose. There was some little demur to this at first; but the majority of the Episcopalian laity so entirely sympathized with the feelings of their brother settlers, that to refuse the use of the church would have produced painful collisions, which all were anxious to avoid. Hence a compromise was made, and it was agreed that St. George's church should be available; the Rev. John Heavyside, Colonial

Chaplain, was requested and consented to read the liturgical service, after which I was to ascend the pulpit, and preach the sermon. The church, which is a massive structure, was crammed in every part, including even the spacious aisles, and it was estimated that there were present not less than fourteen hundred persons, all British, and with few exceptions settlers or their descendants. Probably never before did a Methodist Minister stand under such circumstances in the pulpit of an Episcopalian church! But we had a truly "Evangelical Alliance" assemblage on that day. Without any compromise of our diversified principles, the vast congregation consisted of Episcopalians, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, and others, all glad, on such an occasion, to recognise each Christian community as a part of "the holy catholic Church," and to unite in common prayer and praise, while they called to mind their entire dependence on Almighty God, and reviewed His past goodness and mercy towards them as a people.

Many of the settlers were anxious to raise some kind of permanent memorial, which should tell to future generations that they wished to acknowledge the God of Providence as the Author and Giver of all the blessings they had been permitted to enjoy since their settlement in Africa. Various plans for carrying this into effect were proposed through the local journal; but none seemed to command general approval, and hence the 10th of April passed away without the adoption of any mode of giving lasting expression to the prevailing feeling of the day. In the course of the year, the trustees were much occupied in discussing plans, and providing ways and means, for the erection

of our contemplated large chapel. At a full meeting I eventually proposed that the foundation-stone be laid with suitable ceremony and devotional services on the 10th day of April, 1825; and, this day being the anniversary of the arrival of the first party of the British settlers, twenty-five years, or a quarter of a century, before,—that the chapel should be called “THE COMMEMORATION CHAPEL,” with reference to that event; thereby affording all our people throughout the country the opportunity of contributing their “thank-offering” in aid of the erection of this building, which from its intended strength and proportions would be likely to stand for generations to come. The Trustees unanimously and cordially agreed to this proposal; and as soon as we had announced our decision, increased and new contributions were promised, and successively paid, not only by our own people in all parts of the Eastern Province, but also by various British settlers belonging to other religious communities, who approved the idea of regarding the building as a noble memorial of the gratitude of the settlers for the Divine goodness towards them and their children.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of Commemoration Chapel was of a deeply interesting character, and excited much public attention. A full report of the proceedings was given, at the time, by the Editor of the “Graham’s Town Journal,” and was afterwards added to the volume entitled, “Memorials of the British Settlers.” It would occupy too much space to introduce the whole of this report, but I cannot deny myself the gratification of inserting a brief extract, which will at least serve to record in these pages the names of the first Trustees and other friends who performed a public part in the commencement of this great undertaking.

"The services commenced by the assembling of the children of the Wesleyan Sunday Schools, amounting to about five hundred scholars, and who a few minutes before eleven o'clock moved in procession from their school-house to the Wesleyan chapel, which was crowded, and where, as had been arranged, an address was delivered by the Rev. W. SHAW. The discourse was founded on Psalm xx. 5: 'In the name of our God we will set up our banners;' and was listened to throughout by a crowded congregation with unwearied attention."

"On quitting the chapel, the procession to the site of the intended new building was formed in the following order:—

Mr. GOWIE, Superintendent of Sunday School,
Sunday School Banner and Union Jack,
Sunday School Children,

THE AMATEUR BAND,

Preceded by a single Trustee, and followed by Trustees, two abreast,
wearing in their coat button-holes white favours,

BANNER INSCRIBED,

'Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good-will towards men;'

Trustee, bearing copy of the Holy Bible,

Rev. W. Shaw,

„ W. Impey,

„ T. Smith,

} Wesleyan
} Ministers

Rev. W. Shepstone,

„ G. Green,

„ J. Alison,

Mr. Blaine, Mrs. Shaw, Mr. B. Shaw,

Several Ladies, Friends of Mrs. Shaw,

George Jarvis, Esq., Solicitor, with Trust Deed,

W. Wright, Esq., Treasurer, G. Wood, Esq., with Plan of
Edifice,

W. Lee, Senior,

Local Preachers, Leaders, and Stewards.

"On arriving at the ground the scene was most animating. The area of the proposed building was densely crowded by well-dressed persons of both sexes, over whom floated proudly the banner of England; while the beaming countenances of the juvenile part of the crowd, and the joyous air with which they moved to the sound of music to the spacious platform, which had been erected in the rear for their accommodation, was well calculated to warm the heart of all who wish well to the rising population of this settlement.

“The persons engaged having taken the several places allotted to them, the Rev. W. Shaw commenced the proceedings by calling on the Rev. W. Shepstone to engage in prayer, after which some verses were sung by the schools. The Treasurer, W. Wright, Esq., then exhibited a square leaden case, carefully soldered, within which he announced had been deposited an inscription, beautifully written on vellum by Mr. Gowie, as follows:—

In the name of the Holy Trinity,
 IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF VICTORIA,
 QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
 THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THIS EDIFICE,
 TO BE SET APART FOR THE WORSHIP OF ALMIGHTY GOD,
 AGREEABLY TO THE DISCIPLINE AND FORMS OF
 THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH,
 AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DOCTRINES OF SCRIPTURE,
 AS SET FORTH IN THE WRITINGS OF ITS FOUNDER,
 THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,
 AND RECOGNISED BY THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE,
 TO BE CALLED
 THE WESLEYAN COMMEMORATION CHAPEL,
 WAS LAID BY MRS. ANN SHAW,
 WIFE OF THE REV. W. SHAW,
 GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE WESLEYAN SOCIETY'S
 MISSIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA,
 ON THE 10TH DAY OF APRIL, 1845,
 IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LANDING IN THIS COLONY
 OF THE BRITISH SETTLERS OF ALBANY
 ON THE SAME DATE,
 TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO,
 AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE PROVIDENTIAL MERCIES
 WHICH HAVE MARKED THEIR FOOTSTEPS SINCE THAT PERIOD,
 AND OF THE DISTINGUISHED GOODNESS OF GOD IN THE
 GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

His Excellency Lieut.-General, Sir PEREGRINE MAITLAND, K.C.B.,
 Governor of the Colony.
 His Honour Colonel JOHN HARE, C.B., Lieutenant-Governor.
 The Honourable JOHN MONTAGU, Esq., Secretary to Government.
 The Honourable WILLIAM PORTER, Esq., Attorney-General.
 The Rev. JABEZ BUNTING, D.D., President of the Wesleyan Methodist
 Conference.
 The Rev. ROBERT NEWTON, D.D., Secretary.
 The Rev. WILLIAM SHAW, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan
 Missions in South Eastern Africa.
 The Rev. H. H. DUGMORE, } Resident Wesleyan
 The Rev. THORNLEY SMITH, } Ministers

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“Besides the above were deposited in the same case, a copy of Wesley’s ‘Notes on the New Testament,’ bound in one vol. with the Hymns now in general use; copy of the ‘Memorials of the British Settlers;’ specimens of the languages—namely, the English, Dutch, Kaffir, and Sichuana—used by the Wesleyan Missionaries in South-Eastern Africa; * copies of the local newspapers of that day’s date; and various coins of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria,—‘whom,’ exclaimed the Treasurer, ‘may GOD long preserve!’”

“The case having been deposited in a cavity of the foundation stone, which had been prepared for its reception, Mrs. SHAW was then conducted to the bottom of the excavation by her supporters,—viz., her son, Mr. M. B. Shaw, and her son-in-law, Mr. H. Blaine; and a handsome massive silver trowel † having been presented to her by Mr. G.

* “The text of Scripture selected on this occasion, and given in the four languages mentioned, is as follows:—

“‘God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’—John iii. 16.”

† “This trowel, the material of which is standard silver, was made by Mr. Thomas Radmall, of 28, Heerengracht, Cape Town, the inscription and decorative part being executed by one of the British Settlers of 1820. The order was given at a very late period, and it required great exertion in the maker to complete the task by the given time. To do this it was forwarded from Cape Town by post under the frank of the Honourable Secretary to Government, who, aware of the exigency of the case, most handsomely thus aided the parties in the accomplishment of their object, by which means the parcel reached Graham’s Town on the afternoon previous to the day appointed for its use. It bears the following inscription:—

‘Presented to Mrs. Ann Shaw, wife of the Rev. William Shaw, by

Wood, the customary form of spreading the mortar was very becomingly gone through by her, when the stone, calculated to weigh about two tons, was slowly lowered; the school children singing, accompanied by the amateur band, the following lines:—

‘Thou who hast in Sion laid
 The true foundation stone,
 And with those a covenant made,
 Who build on that alone:
 Hear us, Architect Divine!
 Great Builder of Thy church below;
 Now upon Thy servants shine,
 Who seek Thy praise to show
 ‘Father, Son, and Spirit, send
 The consecrating flame;
 Now in majesty descend,
 Inscribe the living name;
 That great name by which we live,
 Now write on this accepted stone;
 Us into Thy hands receive,
 Our temple make Thy throne.’

“The stone having descended to its proper site, the mallet was used, and the square applied, as customary; after which declaration was made in due form that it was ‘well and truly laid.’ Mrs. Shaw then resumed her seat, when an address was delivered from the platform by the Rev. Thornley Smith.”

The erection of this chapel, thus auspiciously commenced, was retarded, after its walls had risen to a certain height, by some untoward circumstances; and meantime the Kaffir war of 1846 rendered it wholly impracticable to proceed with the building. All available hands were employed either in repelling the invaders, or in protecting the country from further inroads; while the price of provisions, and consequent cost of Settlers of 1820, on the occasion of her laying the Foundation Stone of the Wesleyan Commemoration Chapel, Graham’s Town, South Africa, April 10, 1845.’

“On the reverse side:—

‘What hath God wrought!

Numbers xiii., verse 23.’ ”

labour, rose to such unusually high rates, that it became impossible to proceed with the work ; and the contracts were consequently cancelled until more favourable times should return. The war and its immediate results did not pass away till 1848 ; meantime we were put to serious expenses in the form of interest on the first outlay, since, while hostilities continued, it was impossible to collect any large amount of the promised subscriptions ; and as no workmen could for a long period venture into the forests to cut timber, without great danger of being surprised and murdered by straggling parties of Kaffirs, we were induced to write to London for a roof, which was constructed there, and sent out to Algoa Bay. The cost of freight, and still more the charge for wagon hire from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, added very seriously to the unavoidably large expenditure for the building. However, as soon as circumstances favoured a recommencement, new contracts were made, and the chapel was at length so far completed, that we were enabled to dedicate it for the worship of God on the 24th of November, 1850. The proceedings connected with the opening of this chapel I reported in the following terms to the Missionary Secretaries in London.

“ You will be glad to hear that our new chapel, called the Wesleyan Commemoration Chapel, in this town, has been dedicated to the service of Almighty God. The dedication services commenced on Sunday, the 24th of November, and extended over Sunday, December 1st. In the whole there were ten services, which were well attended, much interest having been excited among all classes of the community ; for, besides its great purpose as a place of worship, it is designed as a monumental building, in token of gratitude to God, for His goodness to the British settlers who landed on these shores in the year 1820. Amongst this class of the

community, with their descendants and family connexions, the feeling of deep interest was very widely extended, as will be evident when I inform you, that the public collections amounted to the noble sum of five hundred guineas, or £525.

“The building is in the pointed style, well sustained in all its parts. The front, from the level of the floor, is seventy feet high to the top of the centre pinnacle, and it is about sixty-three feet wide, including the buttresses. The interior dimensions are ninety feet long by fifty feet broad, and from the floor to the ceiling it is thirty-four feet in height. There are two side and one end galleries; and the building is capable of accommodating in great comfort a congregation of about fourteen hundred persons. Altogether, this place of worship is probably the most commodious and handsome of any building of the kind occupied by any English congregation in Southern Africa.

“I could not induce the trustees to excuse me from conducting the first service, as I had preached the first sermon in the two chapels which preceded this in this town. I therefore submitted myself, and preached from the words, ‘Our holy and our beautiful house.’ The building was completely filled at this first dedication service. We had the attendance of many of the principal officers of government, civil and military, most of the professional men in the town, and, besides our own numerous congregation, a great number of our fellow-Christians of various denominations. It was indeed refreshing and encouraging to the mind, to behold in this distant corner of the earth a congregation of at least fourteen hundred English assembled in one place, to worship the God of heaven, and dedicate a noble and beautiful building to His service. The collections on this occasion amounted to £157, probably the largest public collection ever made before at one service in any place of worship in Southern Africa. It was the time of holding our Annual District-Meeting, and thus the interest was much increased by the presence of the brethren from all parts of the District. Several of them preached excellent and interesting sermons, well adapted to the occasion; and we had also the friendly and valuable assistance of the Independent and Baptist Ministers of the town. On the whole, I think not only our own people, but the public generally, were pleased and pro-

fited by these services; and my prayer is, 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, send now prosperity!' We have vastly increased means for accommodating our English congregation, which will be much increased; and, as soon as the arrangements can be completed, Wesley chapel will be re-opened for the use of our large Kaffir and Fingoe congregation. You can have little idea of the difficulties which we have had in the erection of a first-class building of this kind in a country so circumstanced as this. The Kaffir war retarded the work for nearly three years; and it is singular, that rumours of war disturbed us before the last dedicatory services had been held. But I have obtained great help from a Building Committee, who have devoted much time and attention to the work. Our debt will be much heavier than had been contemplated, occasioned by unfavourable circumstances, which could not be foreseen when the work was commenced; but, by the good hand of God upon us, I doubt not but our willing people will in due season make provision for its speedy reduction to an amount that may be easily managed. And we have good hope that this noble structure will stand for many generations, a witness for God in this part of Southern Africa."

The large collections at the opening services, and the further efforts of the people, greatly reduced the otherwise serious amount of debt arising from a heavy expenditure up to the time of opening the building, inclusive of the cost of the ground. This debt had been further increased by the amount of interest paid on borrowed money before the chapel was opened, and herefore previously to its yielding any revenue. The untoward circumstances connected with the Kaffir war increased the outlay enormously; so that the entire expenditure exceeded £9,000, of which upwards of £5,000 was still owing at the time when the dedicatory services were commenced. I had already appealed to the Legislative Council of the Colony for assistance, seeing that we had never received a shilling from the

colonial treasury in aid of our religious institutions in Graham's Town, while nearly the entire cost of St. George's church had been defrayed from that source, and the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics of the town were receiving about £1,000 per annum towards the support of their respective Clergy. Our case was a strong one, and was well supported in the Council by the Honourable Messrs. W. Cock and R. Godlonton, Members of Council for the Eastern Province. The Council agreed to make the grant requested; but before this could be carried into effect, it was suddenly dissolved, and ultimately the new Constitution was introduced. We now transmitted our petition to the Governor, requesting that the executive would propose the requisite grant to the Cape Parliament. In the House of Assembly there was strong opposition raised by an influential Member resident in Cape Town, and of rather ultra views on the question of State aid to Churches: but our claim was strong in its equity, and was strenuously supported by nearly all the members who represented the British settlers, and eventually, on a division, it was resolved, by a small majority, to grant one thousand pounds in aid of the Building Fund. This encouraged our people to make further voluntary efforts, whereby, including the grant, the debt was reduced more than one half. The annual income of the chapel has been so well sustained, since the dedication services, that a considerable surplus is now regularly available for the gradual extinction of the entire debt.

Since the completion of the building, anniversary sermons are always preached on a Sunday as near as may be to the 10th of April, the "Commemoration

Day ;" and collections are made towards the reduction of the remaining debt. Among the Dutch community the twenty-fifth anniversary of a marriage day, when celebrated in a family, is called "the *silver* wedding day," and the fiftieth anniversary, when both parties still survive, is called "the *golden* wedding day:" I trust that the few settlers who may survive the fiftieth year or Jubilee of their arrival in the country, will see a "wholly right seed," the descendants of their forefathers, who will celebrate the "*golden* anniversary," and take care, that should any debt unhappily still remain on "Commemoration Chapel," it shall on that occasion be entirely extinguished by their grateful and liberal thank-offerings.

After the erection of Commemoration Chapel, there was a gradual growth in the numbers regularly attending that spacious place of worship. It has been for some years past fully occupied by the congregation; and recent intelligence conveys the gratifying information that measures have already been taken for promoting the erection of two other chapels, each about a mile distant from Commemoration Chapel, but at the opposite extremities of the town. When these two buildings are completed, the Wesleyans will possess five chapels in Graham's Town, three for the English, one for the Dutch-speaking natives, and one for the Kaffir congregation. The foundation stone of one of these chapels, which is to stand on "West Hill," was laid on November 24th, 1859, with similar ceremonies to those described above as being observed when the building of Commemoration Chapel was commenced. The following extract from a late number of the "Graham's Town Journal" states the leading circumstances connected with this new enterprise.

“The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of a new Wesleyan chapel at West Hill took place on Thursday last. Fortunately the weather was cool, and the attractions of a procession, together with the interest and importance of the work about to be done, drew together a large number of spectators—members of all denominations. As previously arranged, those who wished to witness it met at Commemoration Chapel, in front of which were waving the banners of the Wesleyan Sunday School Union. At half-past two o’clock the start was made for West Hill, the officers and Ministers of the Wesleyan church, and the Teachers and Scholars of the Sunday School, joining in the procession, while the spectators in hundreds lined the causeways, and literally crammed the street.

“Every arrangement was made on the spot for the accommodation of all; and so perfect were these arrangements, that there was very little noise, or scuffling, or confusion; seats were provided for the ladies, of whom there were a very large number present. As soon as all was arranged, the Rev. J. Richards gave out a hymn, which being sung, the Rev. E. D. Hepburn engaged in prayer. Another hymn was then prettily sung by the English Sunday School, after which the builders proceeded to lower the stone. While this was being done, the Kaffir School sung an anthem in its best style. The tin box, which was deposited in the stone, was stated by Mr. John E. Wood to contain several coins of the realm, a copy of the “Graham’s Town Journal,” and a parchment inscription, which was read by Mr. Janion, the Secretary, as follows:—

“In the name of the Holy Trinity, in the twenty-third year of the reign of Victoria, by the grace of God Queen of the British empire, the foundation stone of this edifice, to be set apart for the worship of Almighty God, agreeably to the discipline and forms of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and in accordance with the doctrines of Scripture, as set forth in the writings of its founder, the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., and recognised by the Wesleyan Conference, to be called the West Hill Chapel, was laid by Mrs. M. E. Impey, wife of the Rev. W. Impey, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Society’s Missions in South Eastern Africa, on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1859. His Excel-

lency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Governor; his Honour Lieutenant-General Wynyard, Lieutenant-Governor; the Hon. William Porter, Attorney-General; the Hon. Rawson W. Rawson, C.B., Secretary to Government; the Rev. Samuel D. Waddy, President of Conference; the Rev. John Farrar, Secretary to Conference; the Rev. W. Impey, General Superintendent; the Rev. John Richards and Robert Lamplough, Circuit Ministers; Messrs. Robert Godlonton and C. R. Gowie, Circuit Stewards; Mr. W. Haw, Society's Steward; Mr. W. Wedderburn, sen., Poor's Steward. Trustees: Messrs. S. Cawood, G. Wood, jun., John E. Wood, C. H. Caldecott, Jonathan Ayliff, Charles Coxen, J. B. Janion, W. Wedderburn, sen., Thomas Langford, C. R. Gowie, and Edward Haw; John E. Wood, Treasurer of Trustees; J. B. Janion, Secretary; R. Hoggar, Architect."

"A very chaste silver trowel was then presented to Mrs. M. Impey, wife of the Rev. W. Impey, the General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in this country, and the principal performance—the 'laying of the stone'—was done in the usual way. It is an interesting fact, that the late Mrs. Shaw, the mother of Mrs. Impey, and wife of the late General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, performed the same pleasing duty in connexion with Commemoration Chapel some fifteen years ago. The Rev. J. Ayliff finished the interesting proceedings of the day by an address, in which the early settlement of this Colony, its then condition, and the progress made, were powerfully portrayed."

It would be a pleasing task to record the progress of our Mission in the other towns and villages of the Eastern Province down to a recent date; but the details, although deeply interesting to myself and numerous friends in that country, would occupy too much space. The general reader will only need to be informed that in proportion to their size and their relative population, the good work has generally prospered in a similar manner on nearly all the Stations. There has everywhere been a

proportionate increase in the congregations, and the number of Church members, while a similar improvement has taken place in the character and extent of chapel and school accommodation. Everywhere native congregations and Sunday Schools have grown up simultaneously with those for the English population. I propose, indeed, in the second part of this book, to enter into some details concerning our important work among the Native Africans residing within the Eastern Province, and also in a distinct chapter, on "Education and Schools," to present to the reader a summary of our efforts in South Eastern Africa in promoting the secular and religious instruction of all classes of the people in these widely extended regions.

Before concluding this portion of the story of my Mission, I think the reader will expect some statement from me as to the consequences which may have resulted from our receiving certain "grants in aid" from the colonial treasury towards the support of our Ministry and religious institutions in the Eastern Province. I have no desire to enter into the discussion of the vexed questions connected with the controversy on what has been called the "voluntary system." I have formed my own opinion on the subject; but I can readily believe that many conscientious men, after great consideration, have been led to a conclusion very different from that to which the practical working of the system of "grants in aid," rather than any great reliance on theoretical reasonings in the matter, has conducted me. For my part, I do not so read the New Testament as to think that either by express direction, or obvious implication, any portion of it teaches that it is wrong or sinful for a Christian government to grant, or for a

Christian Church to receive from it, pecuniary aid, when really needful, for the sustenance of the Ministry, or the *religious* instruction of the young. In the circumstances of the British Colonies, the question assumes a form entirely different from that in which it is presented amidst the time-honoured institutions of Great Britain. In our Colonies there ought to be perfect religious equality; and if *any* Christian denomination receives help, *all* ought to be regarded as equally entitled to assistance, on some judicious and well defined system. That the "grants in aid" may not, however, act as a preventive to the developement of the voluntary contributions of the people, but rather as a stimulus thereto, they should be fixed at a limited amount, rendering the free-will offerings of the people indispensable from the commencement; the grant being made only on the condition that they voluntarily make up the amount specified as the lowest salary compatible with the decent maintenance of a Minister. These grants in aid are wholly unnecessary and ought not to be given to congregations in the large cities and towns, but only to those in the smaller towns and villages, which are the proper centres of the very scattered population of the rural districts. After such assistance has been afforded for a series of years, a final grant to aid in paying off a chapel debt, or in the erection of a Minister's house, so as to enable the congregation to do without any further Government assistance, should be afforded; and by this means the help afforded would in most cases prove temporary, but at the same time highly valuable in helping the respective rural congregations over the first difficulties incident to their peculiar circumstances.

That a small amount of assistance to a rural popula-

tion, such as described above, need neither interfere with the liberty of the Church, nor paralyse the efforts of the people in supporting their own religious institutions, is, I think, sufficiently shown by the case of SALEM, with which settlement I was originally connected. I cannot place the working of the system in this instance more fairly before the reader, than by the following extract from a letter, in which I referred to the subject nearly ten years ago :—

“You are aware that, from the commencement, the Government has paid an annual allowance towards the support of the Minister at Salem. By the further contributions of the people, all the other expenses, including that of the Minister’s residence, &c., are paid ; so that this settlement is no cost to the Society, while the people contribute annually from £80 to £100 in aid of the general funds of our Missionary Society. This you will admit to be very liberal for a settlement which, including all connected with the Circuit, does not now exceed one hundred *English* families. And I may add, that it is a striking instance in proof, that the receipt of some pecuniary grant from the Government as a *supplementary* aid need never lessen the voluntary and spontaneous contributions of our people. If that were a topic on which it were needful or expedient for me to enlarge in this place, I could easily show, in this instance, that the annual grant from the Government has, on the contrary, acted as a stimulus. I am persuaded that, without it, the people, who are not rich, but only in comfortable circumstances, would never have raised so much ; since, without supplementary aid, they could not have supported a Minister and those religious institutions which form the channels through which the streams of their pious liberalities flow. It is, perhaps, as well that, having said so much on this topic, to which I have never before adverted in my letters to you, I should add, that, although the Government aid to the Salem Minister has been received for thirty years, yet in no instance has the local Government presumed, in consequence thereof, to interfere with the spiritual functions of the Minister, or the freedom of action of the Church.”

The system of ecclesiastical grants now in operation in the Cape Colony is, however, of a very unsatisfactory character. These grants are made on the most liberal scale to congregations in the chief cities and towns of the Colony, where they are wholly unnecessary; while to the smaller towns and rural districts, in which they are really needed, they are very sparingly afforded, and, in many instances, refused. The principal Churches receiving aid are the Dutch Reformed, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Wesleyan; but no equitable principle of distribution among the several denominations has ever been introduced. The consequence is, that the Anglican and Romish Churches receive grants far beyond all fair proportion to their relative numbers; while the Wesleyans, who have never been a sect favoured by the Colonial Government, receive considerably less than an equitable rule of distribution would give them. Indeed, not a single penny is granted from the treasury in aid of the salaries of the Ministers of this denomination throughout the entire Western Province: an instance of flagrant injustice, which the Cape Parliament has shown no disposition to redress, although by large majorities it has declared against the immediate or prospective abrogation of all ecclesiastical grants. The Wesleyans in the Colony do and will claim their fair share in the general distribution so long as the system is permitted to last; but they know that they have as little to fear as any other religious denomination, should the local Parliament eventually resolve on finally discontinuing these grants in aid. As I have explained above, I think "there is a more excellent way" than the entire abolition of these ecclesiastical grants; but I am not prepared to defend the present

unjust system, founded on manifest favouritism, in the existing mode of distribution, from the public treasury, among the various denominations.

I am glad in this place to bear testimony to the great and growing liberality of the various Wesleyan congregations within the Colony, in the support of their religious institutions. At an outlay of tens of thousands of pounds they have erected numerous chapels and school-houses. They support Day and Sunday Schools at a cost of hundreds of pounds annually. They generally relieve the necessities of their own poor, or accidentally necessitous, without any aid from parochial or Government funds. They contribute largely, in the usual Methodistical manner, towards the support of their several Ministers; and in the Eastern Province alone their contributions to the general funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society now reach an amount of £1,300, which is made up by those from the other districts at the Cape, at Natal, and in the regions beyond the Colonies, to an aggregate sum of two thousand pounds per annum. When I first reached the shores of Southern Africa no contributions had been transmitted to the Society from its people. Hence, within the term of my ministry, I and my fellow-labourers, in all parts of the country, have witnessed the small commencement of their liberality, and been cheered with this ever-increasing proof of our people's love. We may surely be permitted to refer, not indeed boastfully, but gratefully, to this large amount voluntarily and regularly contributed by them, as some evidence that we have not laboured in vain in the Lord. Numbers of members or adherents of our Churches, who are the fruit of our ministry, or have been in-

structed and fed by our pastorate, hereby give unequivocal testimony of their approval of our united efforts to promote their welfare. Certainly, "if we are not apostles to others," yet doubtless we are acknowledged by our people, who are "the seal" of our apostolic ministry "in the Lord."

My narrative referring chiefly to departments of the Mission in which I was more or less personally engaged, has led me to set before the reader the principal proceedings of the Wesleyan denomination within the Eastern Province. But I should be sorry to close this part of my book, without referring to our respected brethren of other Christian Churches. I belong to what is called "a sect;" but I never had a sectarian heart; and I am now less inclined than ever, to indulge in narrowness of feeling towards any of the Ministers and disciples of our common Lord and Master. Let me then say, in few words, that I have witnessed with most sincere pleasure and thankfulness to God the faithful labours and enlarged success of numerous brethren of other denominations. When I first reached the Eastern Province of the Colony, the entire body of Ministers within its limits did not exceed ten in number, *inclusive* of an Episcopalian Clergyman, who, like myself, arrived with the British settlers. They were placed at remote distances from each other in various parts of the Province. By the Divine blessing on the labours of these Ministers, how greatly have their numbers and their respective Churches been multiplied! They are all steadily enlarging their borders; and I may thus unwittingly understate the present number of the Ministers and Churches of the several denominations.

The following tabular view will, however, present to the reader a near approximation, if not an entirely accurate statement of the progress of the several denominations, during the last forty years, within the *limits* of the EASTERN PROVINCE:—

Denomination.	In the year 1820.		In the year 1860.	
	Minis- ters.	Churches or Chapels.	Minis- ters.	Churches or Chapels.
Dutch Reformed.....	3	3	15	15
Anglican.....	1	...	21	20
Wesleyan	1	...	22	44
Moravian	3	1	8	3
Congregational	2	2	15	15
Baptist	3	3
Roman Catholic.....	6	4
Totals	10	6	90	104

“The reader will please to observe:—

“(1.) There are several Ministers belonging to the various denominations who are devoted to the work of education, and who have no pastoral charges; but, nevertheless, usually preach on the Lord’s day: adding these, with a few more, for possible omissions, arising from want of complete information, the total number of regular Ministers, in the Eastern Province, may be taken at one hundred, being an increase of exactly tenfold in the number of Ministers since 1820.

“(2.) The column of churches and chapels includes temporary places of worship, where no permanent church or chapel has yet been erected.

“(3.) The Wesleyan Ministers usually supply more than one chapel each, and they are likewise assisted by Local Preachers, which will account for their places of worship being more numerous in proportion to the number of Ministers than those of other bodies. They have a con-

siderable number of other "preaching-places," besides the chapels, as stated in the Schedule. These Ministers are all connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

"(4.) The number of Ministers of the Anglican Church includes the Bishop and Archdeacon: the large increase of Clergy in this Church dates from the appointment of the first Bishop to the Cape Colony, about twelve years ago.

"(5.) The Moravians are connected with the Missionary Society of the United Brethren.

"(6.) The Congregationalist Ministers include three or more Pastors of Churches composed of an union of Independents and Presbyterians; the remainder are Missionary Pastors in connexion with the London Missionary Society.

"(7.) The Baptists are Pastors of Colonial Churches, after the model of their brethren in Great Britain."

The great body of the Clergy and Ministers of all the denominations, in the Eastern Province, would prove an honour and a blessing to any country. There are not wanting men among them of considerable learning. Their piety and devotedness are in general "known and read of all men." More than one section of the Church has indeed had to deplore instances of moral delinquency in Ministers: these were, however, isolated and exceptional cases, and were promptly dealt with by their respective Churches and ecclesiastical authorities; and the character of the vast majority of the Christian Pastors is so consistent as to command the general confidence and respect of the people. Of course they all maintain their respective doctrinal views and disciplinary principles; but the evangelical Ministers of the various Churches, as far as my observation has gone, are not much inclined to indulge in religious controversy. A large amount of kindly feeling and sympathy prevails among many of them, and they generally see that there is more important work to be done than "splitting hairs" on mere non-essential doctrines,

or systems of Church government. Amidst great diversity of gifts, every denomination possesses preachers who would be acceptable to the most intelligent congregations of their respective Churches in Great Britain. What may not be expected from the united efforts of a body of Ministers of this character, and endowed with such qualifications for usefulness! The survey cheers my own heart, and, I trust, will excite hope in others that God has great blessings in store for that large and interesting Province, "and the regions beyond." May the people learn "to know in this their day the things that make for their peace!" May this whole body of Clergy and Ministers be baptized with a renewed and enlarged spirit of zeal for God, and love for souls! Thus may they become "flames of fire," "burning and shining lights;" and may God, even our own God, abundantly bless them all! I cannot better express my wishes for them, and their respective Churches, than in the words first written with reference to the holy city. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee!"

PART II.

MISSION AMONG THE NATIVE TRIBES OF
SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

MISSION AMONG NATIVE AFRICANS WITHIN THE EASTERN PROVINCE.

VARIOUS Classes of Natives—Few in Albany on our Arrival—Slaves and Slavery—Hottentot Soldiers—Dutch Language—My first Public Services for Dutch Farmers—Frontier Dutch—My earliest efforts among the Hottentots—Class-meetings among them—Growth of this Work—The Graham's Town Chapel used as an Episcopal Church—Report of Progress for 1823—Somerset Government Farm—Becomes a District Town—Rev. John Ayliff—Fluctuations in the Native Congregation at Graham's Town—Its State in 1830—Separation between the Hottentots and other Natives—Native Congregation increases—Rev. R. Haddy and further Growth—Native Chapel too small—School Chapel built—Rev. H. H. Dugmore's Report in 1843—Three Wesleyan Congregations in Graham's Town—Removal of Fingoe-Kaffir Congregation to Wesley Chapel—My Report in 1852—Continued Growth of the Native Work in Graham's Town—Many Natives desire to leave the Town—Mission Settlement founded for them—Named "Farmerfield"—Minister at Salem superintends the Settlement—Mr. D. Roberts and "the Watson Institution"—Success of new Plan for Missionary Village—Diversified Population of Farmerfield—The Village described—Progress of Christianity there—Reports of Missionaries—Rev. W. J. Davis, 1840—Rev. J. Richards, 1842—Farmerfield attacked during the War of 1846—Report of Rev. Thornley Smith, 1847—Apprenticeship of late Slaves abrogated—Some of them on the Northern Frontier desire Missionary Instruction—Haslope Hills Missionary Settlement Founded—Description of People admitted—Progress of this Mission—Drought and Locusts—Rev. H. Dugmore's Report, 1845—Fidelity of the People

during the War of 1846—Lands granted to them by the Government—Their Interests still secured by the Missions at Lesseyton and Kamastone—Native Congregations on ALL our Colonial Circuits—Salem—Bathurst—John Neapayi—Native Missionary Meetings—Report by Rev. J. Smith, &c.—Fort Beaufort—Cradock—Somerset (East)—Colesberg—Queen's Town—King William's Town—Port Elizabeth—Delay at this Place before a Native Congregation was collected—Only a brief View of the Work can be presented—It is co-extensive with our Mission in the Province—It has been successful, and is full of Promise.

THE commencement and early progress of the Wesleyan Mission among the European population of the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, has already been narrated in the FIRST PART of this work; but I have therein made only slight and passing allusion to our Mission among the native classes residing within the colonial boundaries. It would, however, be manifestly improper not to furnish some account of our interesting and growing work among this portion of the diversified population of the Eastern Province. Hence, before proceeding to narrate the story of our Mission among the various tribes beyond the colonial border, I propose, in this chapter, to sketch an outline of our early attempts and subsequent proceedings in endeavouring to propagate Christianity among the Hottentots, prize Negroes, and emancipated slaves, together with that portion of the Kaffir races who reside in and near the colonial towns and locations. I will not here allude, however, to the large Fingoe-Kaffir Settlements formed by the Government on the frontier; since a brief history of the Fingoes as a people, and notice of our very extensive and efficient Missions among them, will prove sufficiently interesting to justify the dedication of a distinct chapter to its

narration. The Hottentots, emancipated slaves, and prize Negroes, have been so frequently described by various writers, that a few paragraphs will suffice in this place to remind the general reader of their respective characteristics, and the place they occupy amidst the colonial population.

THE HOTTENTOTS are the descendants of a far-spread race of people, who at one period were the only inhabitants of the entire southern angle of the African Continent, from about the 28th degree of latitude to the promontory of the Cape. Within the last few centuries, however, the Kaffirs intruded upon them, along the eastern coast, until they came in contact with the European colonists, on or near the Great Fish River in latitude 32° S. They were originally divided into many distinct tribes, and there is reason to believe that they only partially occupied the immense region over which they roamed in the pursuit of game, or while seeking pasturage for their flocks and herds. The tribes now called Bushmen, who are a race of pigmies, seem not to have kept sheep or cattle at all, but to have depended exclusively on hunting, and occasional plundering of the more settled clans, for their subsistence. The present race of Hottentots within the colonial boundaries are a mixture of all the tribes of their nation. They are of middle stature, slim figure, and light brown complexion, with curly hair, flat nose, and high cheek-bones. They are generally very nimble and active, fearless horsemen, keen-sighted in the chase, but indisposed to continuous labour. In youth they display a ready perception, and make rapid progress in elementary instruction, but usually fail in the diligent application required to carry but and complete any branch of study. Their contact

with Europeans has been both for good and evil. During more than a century,—notwithstanding the just views and good intentions of the principal Dutch authorities, of which there is much evidence in the earliest official records of the Colony,—the Dutch settlers gradually deprived them not only of all claim in the soil, but of the usual rights and privileges of free men. No earnest attempts were made to teach them the lessons of Christianity till Missionaries were sent to Southern Africa,—first by the Moravians, and afterwards by other Societies; and it was not until the year 1826 that even the English Government placed the liberties and rights of this and other classes of coloured people fully under the protection of the law. Within the last fifty years, however, the efforts of the Missionaries of various Societies have been crowned with large success, and there is no doubt that the existing race of Hottentots are living in far greater comfort than their forefathers ever enjoyed. They are now in general professed believers in Christianity, and considerable numbers of them afford satisfactory evidence that they are real Christians. A large proportion can read the Holy Scriptures in the Dutch language; and they are in general decently clothed and well fed. Thousands of them reside at the various Missionary Institutions, or in the Kat River Settlement, while the rest are scattered over the Colony in the service of the farmers. No doubt during the long period in which the laws gave them little or no protection, their numbers decreased; but it may be questioned whether the Hottentot race was ever so numerous as some writers have represented. The chief cause which has tended to check their increase during the last forty years

has been the intemperance of a large proportion of them, in drinking the cheap but highly deleterious wine and brandy which they purchase at the various canteens and liquor-shops licensed by the Government. Still, taking into account the very large number of Mulattos vulgarly called "Bastards," who are descended from Hottentot mothers and fathers of other coloured races, or, in perhaps quite as many instances, of the European race, I question whether the population more or less directly descended from the ancient Hottentot tribes has at all decreased during the last generation. They now form a very important portion of the general community, and seem to be, as a class,—notwithstanding very numerous instances to the contrary,—steadily rising in character, comfort, and respectability.

THE EMANCIPATED SLAVES were nearly all born in the Colony. They are the descendants of slaves brought chiefly from the eastern coast of Africa, during the period when the Dutch carried on the slave trade. Many of their progenitors were, however, brought from the western coast, and others from the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. Like the Hottentots, they have gradually become a mixed race; and there are amongst them persons of almost every shade of colour, from jet black to a complexion scarcely distinguishable from that of the white inhabitants. Their training under their former owners from early days in industrial pursuits, has rendered them handy and useful in various kinds of mechanical and agricultural labour. They are a stronger race, and more capable of enduring the fatigue of continuous labour, than the Hottentots; and, since their emancipation, they have generally maintained themselves in substantial comfort. They have

not escaped the peculiar vices which usually arise in a community of slaves; but, in general, they have shown a ready alacrity, since they became free, in attending places of worship, and sending their children to the schools; so that they are now rapidly becoming an intelligent and improving portion of the general population.

“Prize Negroes” is the designation given to a now numerous class of native Africans, who have been captured from time to time, during the last forty-five years, by the British cruisers employed to suppress the slave trade. They have come both from the western and eastern coasts, chiefly, however, from the latter; and large numbers, from both sides of the Continent, were originally kidnapped and sold to the Portuguese slave dealers, by native Chiefs and tribes in the central regions of Africa, between Mosambique and Congo. These people are generally of a jet black colour, and strong, robust make. They were accustomed to cultivate the ground in their own country, and readily take to gardening and similar employments, when they discover that, either in the form of wages, or by the sale of produce, they can obtain ample remuneration for their labour. Their inability to speak either Dutch or English, so as to make themselves easily understood, is a great drawback to their comfort and contentment. But as their children grow up in the Colony, this bar to their improvement and prosperity will be gradually removed.

On my arrival in Albany, (in 1820,) my attention was immediately directed to the Aborigines. I found, however, a very small number on whom it seemed likely that our labours could be bestowed with much effect.

At that period, and for some time afterwards, there were few natives of any kind in Albany. Those whom I met were chiefly Hottentots, generally engaged in service among the Dutch farmers who occupied its northern portion, and, therefore, were beyond that circle of the district where the English settlers were placed. There was, also, a settlement of the London Missionary Society in Lower Albany, which consisted of a population of some five or six hundred Hottentots; but these were of course under the pastoral care of the resident Missionary, and required no attention from us. Happily there were very few slaves in the district, and these belonged chiefly to the Dutch farmers. It is a pleasing reflection that the British settlers never cultivated the lands of Albany, or tended their flocks on these lands, by means of slave labour. They had recently come from that great country where the slave trade had long been regarded by the entire people as being—to use the language employed by the venerated Wesley, when writing to the then youthful philanthropist Wilberforce —“the execrable sum of all human villanies;” while the holding of human beings in slavery was viewed with scarcely less detestation. Hence no one complained that by the wise foresight of the Government, all grants of land were at this period made under an express stipulation that slaves were not to be employed thereon.

The only considerable body of natives with whom I met at an early period, and who were then destitute of pastoral care, were the Hottentot soldiers belonging to the Cape Corps, whose head quarters were, at this time, in Graham's Town. Contrary to the rule in British regiments, all these men, who chose to use their privilege, were permitted to have their

wives and families with them, for whom the military authorities provided daily rations of meat and bread, over and above their usual pay. They were also generally allowed to build themselves temporary huts in the immediate vicinity of the cantonment. On my first visits to Graham's Town I found that these soldiers, with their wives and families, made up a population of nearly one thousand souls. A considerable number of them had formerly been residents at the Missionary institutions in various parts of the Colony, and had, therefore, been under the religious instruction of the Moravian and London Society's Missionaries; but at this period "no man" seemed to "care for their souls."

Before I left London, I had taken some lessons in the Dutch language; and I endeavoured, on my passage out, to gain a further acquaintance with it. There is not much difficulty to any man of ordinary ability, and of the Saxon race, in acquiring this language. On my arrival, I was able to read it intelligibly; and, indeed, after I had been but a short time in the country, I established a monthly service at Salem, for the benefit of some Dutch farmers and their native servants. I translated, and read on these occasions, some of the late Rev. J. Edmondson's "Short Sermons;" and had the gratification to know that my uncultivated congregation understood me pretty well, and they expressed many thanks for the benefit which they professed to derive; for in those days the nearest Minister of their own Church was eighty or ninety miles distant, and he was too much occupied to be able to visit them. I was of course far from being either a correct or a fluent speaker of the language; but it was encouraging to find

that I could command the serious attention of my rustic hearers. Hence I felt no hesitation on the first occasion, when I could muster a small congregation of Hottentots at Graham's Town, in endeavouring to conduct the service in the Dutch language. I soon discovered, however, that to speak that language as it is spoken in Europe, or printed in the current Dutch literature, or even as the educated Dutch inhabitants in and near Cape Town speak it, would render me nearly as unintelligible as if I were to address them in English. No doubt the spread of education both among the Dutch farmers and that portion of the Hottentots and late slaves who have been from early youth under the training of the Missionaries, has rendered them now more capable of receiving instruction through a correct style of speaking; but for many years I am persuaded that large numbers of the Dutch farmers on the frontier were unable fully to understand and enter into the drift and design of the sermons and addresses of their well educated Ministers.

It has always appeared to me, despite the dictum of a celebrated person, that language is *not* given to us "to *conceal* our thoughts;" but that when the gift of speech is used, especially for the purpose of imparting religious instruction, it must be designed to *reveal* them, and enable us thereby to impress more fully upon the minds of the hearers the far more authoritative "thoughts" and "words" of the "great God and our Saviour." By intercourse with the people, I therefore speedily acquired the sort of patois in which they were accustomed to speak, and the modes of illustration with which they were familiar. Without exactly descending to their level, I considered that it was no undue lowering

of the dignity of the pulpit to make myself thoroughly understood by my hearers, although a critic in the language would probably have been hugely offended by my frequent and flagrant breaches of classical Dutch. I recollect a case in point, which will alike illustrate my meaning and the importance of the subject. I was once present at a kind of military court of inquiry, when a Hottentot was under examination, and a gentleman who was there was requested to interpret. He was a well educated person in the civil service, and had recently come up from the Cape on a tour. He entirely failed, however, to convey the questions proposed in any intelligible manner to the Hottentot. After some time had been lost in mutual misunderstandings, an officer well acquainted with the frontier Dutch interposed, saying, "If you Cape gentlemen speak in that manner, you will hardly be understood on this frontier, even when you inquire your road, or ask for bread and water."

On the other hand, the droll manner in which some of the English settlers occasionally misunderstand or misapply Dutch words or sentences, forms a very fair subject of pleasantry at their expense by their fellow colonists of Dutch descent. I have met with some amusing instances of the kind, which I dare say are not unfrequent wherever people speaking diverse languages are brought into daily intercourse. On one of my earliest journeys in Albany, I met with an English settler (long ago deceased) who had evidently not been taught in either a National or Lancasterian school in our favoured fatherland. He was as innocent of all book learning as the most illiterate person brought up in England can be supposed to be. I was enjoying

his rough but generous hospitality under his canvas tent, and during our conversation he seemed disposed to give me the result of his observations upon the Boors and Hottentots with whom he had lately come into contact. "Ah!" said he, "they be queer folk;" and added, "What a rum sort of language they talks!" "Indeed," said I. "Why, yes, Sur, they calls an *ox* 'a *hoss*' (horse), and a 'hoss' they calls a 'pert'" (*paard*). On the way from Graham's Town to the northern districts, after the traveller has passed through De Bruin's Poort, he soon reaches a spot where the Great Fish River, meeting with some obstruction, makes a very singular turn, as if it had changed its mind, and, instead of pursuing its direct course to the sea, had resolved to turn back again, and run inland towards its source. Close to this singular double of the river, there is what is called an "*Uitspan Plaats*," i.e., a reserve of land made by the Government for the purpose of enabling travellers to outspan or unharness their oxen or horses, and thus obtain a rest either while they eat a meal, or, if needful, stay for a night, where the water, grass, and fuel, all three essentials to a good "*Uitspan Plaats*," are close at hand. The Boors called this place, with obvious reference to the peculiarity of the river's course, *Heenen en wederom*, which may be translated, "Thither and back again;" but some English wagon-drivers, probably not exactly understanding the idiomatic Dutch words, imitated the sound as pronounced by the Hottentots in English, and gave thereby their sense of the proper name for the place: hence I have often heard them call it "Anywhere home."

After this digression, I may now proceed to narrate some of my earliest attempts to convey Christian in-

struction to the natives in this part of the Colony. The following references to this subject are from my Journal. The first is dated August 6th, 1821.

“Preached to a congregation of Hottentots this evening; they heard with deep attention, and, towards the close of my address, were so much affected, that I could not help regretting that my limited acquaintance with their language did not allow me to enlarge on the subject with that freedom which I wished. As some of them are plainly desirous of serving the Lord, I hope shortly to form them into a Class, for their farther improvement in the knowledge and love of God.”

“October 12th, 1821.—I preach to the Hottentots in Graham’s Town regularly. We had six of them at a Class-meeting last week. You would have been delighted to see the tears rolling down their cheeks, and to hear them speak their experience, and express their thankfulness for the good word of God.”

“Sunday, 14th.—I preached twice at Graham’s Town to the English, and once to some Hottentots at the barracks. A few of them desire to meet alone for more perfect instruction in the things of God. I find some of them once resided at the Missionary Settlement belonging to the Moravians at Genadendal, previous to their being called into the army. The words of their former Missionaries have been as bread cast upon the waters.”

The following extract notices the first Class-meetings held by me for native inquirers in Graham’s Town.

“You will be glad to observe in my Journal, that some of the Hottentots wish to meet together in private. I have met them a few times. You would be much pleased to hear the simple, artless manner in which they express themselves. I have good hope of them, but do not choose to number them in the Society as yet. A Missionary resident in Graham’s Town will be likely to reap an abundant harvest among them.

July 12th, 1822.—“As it respects the Hottentot congregation at Graham’s Town, it is as full of promise as those on any of our Stations in South Africa. It has con-

tinued to improve in number and regularity for some time past, although my opportunities of attending to it have necessarily been few and interrupted. I have, at length, the satisfaction of reporting to you, that I have formed a Society among them; the present number of its members is ten; it might have been much greater, but the same reason which induced me to delay forming the Society among them, has led me to be very careful whom I admit into it, now that it is formed. I have, however, great confidence in those already received, that they will be steady in their profession. They speak in a most gratifying manner of their views and feelings, in reference to the great affairs of eternity. You would be highly pleased could you hear the sweet harmony with which the congregation sing hymns of praise to the Saviour, and see the eager attention with which they hear the word.

“I consider that the Heathen in this place, with those of Somerset, to all of whom, through the kind indulgence of their masters and commanders, we have free access, are sufficient to give employ to *one* Missionary; and I am sure, no Missionary will labour long among them without his reward.”

The work thus begun and carried on in a very small way at first, from want of more missionary labourers, and also a suitable place in which to assemble the natives for worship, was further extended shortly after the Albany Mission was reinforced. My colleague wrote, under date October 20th, 1823:—

“I believe I mentioned to you in my last our commencement of an additional service on Tuesday evenings, held in the chapel at this place, for the benefit of the slaves and Hottentot population of the town. This congregation has improved considerably, and several of them manifest an earnest desire to obtain a real and experimental acquaintance with Divine things. I frequently catechize, at the same time that I preach to them, which plan, I am inclined to think, is the most conducive to their improvement in Christian knowledge. The occasional throwing in of an

incidental or promiscuous question constrains them to be attentive, and compels them to the exercise of memory; while their answers open the way for explaining the subject, and give a good opportunity for enforcing it. Every individual listens to every word with as much earnestness as if he expected to be called upon to give its meaning.

"The Sunday-afternoon congregation, (Hottentot,) which we assembled formerly within the camp, distant about a mile from the town, has recently begun to meet in the chapel at four P.M. This change is evidently for the better, because it brings our work more within compass, and inasmuch as it enables the slaves and Hottentots of the town to attend also, which they were not able or willing formerly to do. The numbers which now attend render appearances very promising indeed.

"Our chapel here is well occupied every Lord's day. At seven o'clock A.M. we have our Prayer-meeting, which, in general, is a very profitable season. At nine A.M. the Rev. W. Geary, the Clergyman, preaches to the troops of the garrison: at half-past ten A.M. our own service commences, which continues until twelve o'clock. Our congregation has scarcely retired before the civilians of the town begin to assemble, when Mr. Geary again takes the pulpit. After his congregation withdraws, there is only just time for the chapel to obtain an airing before the heathen congregation enters; yea, the Hottentots and slaves frequently flock around the doors before Mr. Geary has done; and they have not been gone long before the chapel-keeper is seen opening the doors again, and lighting the candles for our evening service, when the place is frequently crowded to excess."

The reference in the last extract to the services of the Rev. Mr. Geary renders it needful to explain that this gentleman had recently arrived from England, and had been appointed by the Governor Colonial Chaplain for Graham's Town; but as there was no building at that time available for a church, we very readily acceded to the request to lend our chapel for some time to be used

for the English Episcopal services at such hours as would not interfere with our own times of worship. It afforded us much gratification to have it in our power to give this evidence of fraternal feeling towards our Episcopalian brethren. We have always wished to be on friendly terms with them, and although there has not at all times been a fair reciprocity in this respect, yet the true sons of Wesley will ever rejoice, as they may have opportunity, to aid the English Episcopal Church in any good work. The slaves mentioned above were few in number, and belonged to certain Dutch inhabitants who were at that time resident in the town, and who employed them chiefly as domestics or mechanics.

The Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1824 says:—

“The Albany Mission continues in a state of encouraging activity, and is now, according to the first hopes of the Committee, extending its influence to the surrounding Heathen. On this Station there are five schools, containing 300 children, of whom 130 are Hottentots and slaves, ‘who,’ it is stated, ‘though the children of a people proverbially filthy, appear at school, every Sunday, as clean in their persons, and as decent in their attire, as the poor children of any village in England.’ A religious Society of adult Hottentots has also been raised up at Graham’s Town, where a place of worship and a school-house is in the course of erection, for the use of that people, towards which the Committee have voted the sum of £50, and the poor Hottentots themselves have subscribed 500 rix-dollars.”

The building referred to in this extract was intended to have been erected near the East Barracks, but circumstances subsequently rendered it necessary, first to postpone, and afterwards to abandon, this proposed erection. The money (500 rix-dollars) which had been contributed

by the Hottentot soldiers, was returned to them, and of course the grant of the Committee was not used.

During this period, but, on account of its great distance, at long intervals, we visited the Government establishment at Somerset (East). On this place a large number of Hottentots and 'prize Negroes' were employed, under the direction of the Government functionaries, in the cultivation of the lands, and other engagements needed for the fulfilment of the design of this establishment, which was to furnish the Commissariat on the frontier with the requisite supplies for the troops. Mr. Ayliff, one of our first Local Preachers in Albany, finding it requisite to remove from his location, obtained a confidential situation under Mr. Hart, the superintendent of the establishment; and, influenced by that warm and earnest zeal for the welfare of the natives which has been his distinguishing characteristic through a long subsequent career, no sooner established his home here, than he commenced, with the full approval of Mr. Hart, regular religious services for the benefit of the people; thus securing and continuing those hopeful beginnings that had already been effected by the occasional and transient visits of the Missionaries, but which, unless they had been followed by the efforts of a zealous agent on the spot, would probably have proved "as the morning cloud, or the early dew." In the year 1825, this Government farm was suddenly broken up, and the place was converted into a colonial town and seat of magistracy for the district. In consequence of this change, the greater part of the natives were dispersed. Some of the Hottentot portion of our congregation in Somerset also soon afterwards were allured by the prospects presented to them by the establishment of the

Kat River Settlement; and on removing thither they placed themselves under the religious care of the resident Ministers and Missionaries of the Settlement. Many of the prize Negroes, however, on the breaking up of the Somerset farm, migrated to Graham's Town and its neighbourhood, where they sought and found employment among the inhabitants, and immediately united with our small native congregation.

As we were at that time extending our work in Kaffraria, and needed assistance in Albany, I now proposed that we should employ Mr. Ayliff as an assistant on our Mission in Graham's Town, giving him the care of the rising native congregation in that place, and obtaining his help in other respects in aiding the resident Ministers, who were at that time unable to overtake all the claims upon their attention in Albany. Mr. Ayliff accordingly took up his residence in the midst of the people, and laboured diligently among them for some time. The congregation steadily increased, and much good was the result. The special qualifications for usefulness in Southern Africa which were thus developed by Mr. Ayliff, induced the District Meeting, after the usual examinations, to recommend him to the Missionary Committee, to be received into our regular Ministry; and as this finally obtained the sanction of the Conference, Mr. Ayliff was subsequently appointed to a Circuit. Although this arrangement was a great assistance to us, in enabling us to extend our Mission in Kaffraria, yet it was a serious loss and disadvantage to the native congregation in Graham's Town. Considerable changes were also made about this time in the Stations of the Hottentot troops, causing the removal of many who had been steady attendants; and soon after

this period, the London Missionary Society appointed one of its Missionaries to reside in Graham's Town, whereby, as our Missionary on the spot at the time did not speak Dutch, the majority of the Hottentot congregation were drawn away from our care; which was not at all surprising, since the greater portion of these Hottentots had either been residents on some of the missionary institutions of that Society in other parts of the Colony, or were connected by family ties with those who dwelt there.

On my re-appointment to Graham's Town in 1830, I found the native congregation in a very low condition. They worshipped in a very inconvenient place, and were greatly reduced in number. A feeling of clanship had also unfortunately arisen; the Hottentots disliked the prize Negroes, and the few Kaffirs who had begun to attend worship with them; and the latter were equally destitute of sympathy with the Hottentots: this produced almost a complete separation between them, which lasts till this day. The Hottentots and emancipated slaves born in the Colony, generally worship in the London Society's chapel, where, under the assiduous pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Smith, they have grown into a very numerous and respectable congregation, which has for some years past supported their Minister, and paid the entire expenses of their public services. The prize Negroes, increased by certain slaves and Fingoe-Kaffirs who gradually joined them, remained under our care, and continued to worship together for many years. In order to meet their case, the sermons were usually delivered in short sentences in Dutch, for the benefit of those natives who understood something of that language, and they were interpreted by a native into Kallir,

for the edification of such of the Kaffir race as understood neither Dutch nor English.

During my residence in Graham's Town from 1830 to 1833, the native congregation once more increased. The revival among the English extended in some degree among them. Conversions were multiplied; and I had the satisfaction of receiving into the Church, by Christian baptism, many of those poor people, brought originally from the central regions of Africa as slaves, or who had been driven by ferocious native wars in the interior to seek refuge in the Colony. The interesting character of our work among the natives in Graham's Town was reported by myself at this period in the following terms:—

“Our native congregation has increased in number and promise during the year. By the aid of our excellent brethren, the Local Preachers, we have been enabled to establish a greater number of services for them, the result of which is a more steady attendance, and several additions to our Class. In this congregation are included Hottentots, Kaffirs, Bechuanas, slaves, and emancipated Negroes. In the Class there are individuals of *five different nations of Africa*. We never saw so fair a prospect of usefulness amongst the native population at Graham's Town as at the present time. We continue our labours amongst the poor outcasts who are confined in the district prison. They are principally of the black and coloured part of the population. They are always very attentive to the preaching of the word; and we are not without hope that some of them will learn righteousness.”

The continued progress of the work among the natives is thus mentioned by the Rev. R. Haddy, who was in charge of the Graham's Town Circuit in 1836. It will be seen from the following statement, that the Fingoe

and Kaffir element was now beginning to predominate in this congregation.

“Our native congregation in this place is encouraging, perhaps, beyond anything that has been witnessed in this town before. About three hundred persons assemble on the Lord’s-day morning and evening, to hear the word of life. The greater number are Fingoes, or Kaffirs, several of whom, having lived some time in the Colony, or at our institutions in Kaffirland, are able to understand a good deal of Dutch. The greater number, however, cannot be edified unless they are addressed in their own language; and this is generally done either by an interpreter, or, when the Missionary officiates, without one. The attention of this congregation is very gratifying, being distinguished by that reverence for the house of God, and that marked solemnity in the Divine presence, which are at once indicative of the intense longing of the soul for salvation, and of its worshipping God in spirit and in truth. In the afternoon, as well as in the morning, from nine o’clock until the commencement of public service, about two hundred and fifty adults and children attend the Sunday School, where they are taught in Kaffir, Dutch, and English, by a number of very competent and pious teachers; and in the afternoon they are usually addressed either by the Missionary in town, or by some Local Preacher or Leader, concerning the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

“The Prayer-meetings in the old chapel, where the natives assemble, are especially ‘times of refreshing,’ when the power and presence of God are delightfully experienced. Thus have we reason to rejoice that the Lord is still in the midst of us.”

On my return to Graham’s Town from England, in 1837, I found the native congregation had now become large and very steady in its attendance. After “Wesley chapel” had been erected, and the English congregation had taken possession of it, the native congregation used the old chapel as their place of worship: as this afforded better accommodation than the building which for several years had been used for their public services,

it attracted a larger number of this increasing class of the population. My colleague, the Rev. George H. Green, in referring to a great revival of religion in the English congregation, mentions the extension of that great work of grace to our native congregation in Graham's Town. Matters continued to progress in this manner for some time, till at length the old chapel became inconveniently crowded; and it was also found very desirable to divide the Dutch-speaking portion of the congregation from those who could only be instructed through the medium of the Kaffir language. An additional Minister had been appointed to Graham's Town, and we were still aided by valuable Local Preachers, who took an interest in the work. We were thus enabled to establish a separate service for the benefit of the Prize Negroes, who were a short time previously joined by a goodly number of the recently emancipated slaves. Hence we were induced to build a suitable school-chapel for the Dutch-speaking congregation, and thenceforward devoted the whole of the old chapel to the use of the Fingoe-Kaffir race, resident in the town; and the attendance increased so rapidly that this building was, in a comparatively short period, again filled by that class of the people. The arrangement proved very favourable to the edification of the people.

A letter written by the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, under date August 4th, 1843, and who was at this period in special charge of the native congregation, refers to the circumstances narrated above, and furnishes his impressions of the state of the work at this date. The appointment of native Class-leaders and Local Preachers, mentioned below, was made with great caution; but it

proved a very advantageous arrangement, and has greatly promoted the interests of the cause of Christ among this class of the population.

“Some of the native Classes under the care of English Leaders having become inconveniently large, it was thought a favourable opportunity for putting a plan into practice which had been some time in contemplation,—that of employing several of the natives themselves as Class-leaders. These Classes have accordingly been divided, and native Leaders appointed, both male and female. There is reason to believe that this measure will prove very beneficial, as the new Leaders are persons of sterling piety and good sense; and possess qualifications in point of language of which the European Leaders are partially or wholly destitute.

“Eleven individuals were baptized towards the close of the quarter; adult Fingoes, all of whom had for some time given satisfactory evidence that they were fit subjects for the initiatory Christian ordinance.

“The congregations still increase. That in the Kaffir chapel is already too large for the accommodation we can afford. The appointment of native outdoor visitors, connected with the Kaffir School, has greatly promoted attendance on the services of the Sabbath. These men act as Local Preachers, and are very active and zealous in visiting the various establishments of Kaffirs and Fingoes in the neighbourhood of the town. The chapel is usually crowded on the Lord’s-day, and the week-night services are also well attended.

“The congregation of that class of the natives who speak the Dutch language is less steady in its increase than the other. It improves, however; and a measure recently decided upon by the General Committee of the Sunday School will, I have no doubt, much accelerate its improvement: I allude to the erection of a new school-room for the use of that branch of the union. The present accommodations for the Dutch School are altogether inadequate to the wants of the numbers to be instructed, and the School has greatly suffered in consequence. The room about to be built, and which is to be ready for occupation in November, will be large and com-

modious, and amply supply all present deficiencies in these respects.

“The School department in the native work being perhaps more fully identified with missionary labour than in the English work, I have considered it a part of my duty to exercise a general oversight of the Kaffir School. In conjunction with the Superintendent of that School, I have endeavoured to introduce native agency more extensively than had heretofore been done. A number of native Teachers, male and female, have been appointed, and the scholars more regularly classified. A considerable increase of numbers has taken place in the attendance at this School within the last few months.

“The plan of monthly subscriptions for the Missions, which I mentioned in my last as about to be adopted, has hitherto worked well. The people cheerfully acknowledge their obligations to the Gospel, and practically prove, by their willing contributions, that they feel as well as profess.”

Since the erection of the school-chapel, as above mentioned, we have had, for a long series of years, three regular congregations on every Lord's-day in Graham's Town. In the first, the worship is conducted in English, for the English inhabitants; in the second, the Kaffir language is employed, for the benefit of those who can only be instructed through that tongue; and, in the third, the late slaves, the prize Negroes, and a few Hottentots enjoy the advantage of services in the Dutch language. When it was afterwards resolved to erect the noble building called “Commemoration chapel” for the use of the growing English congregation, the old chapel, which had become dilapidated, was sold; and the substantial and handsome “Wesley chapel,” which is capable of accommodating a congregation of some eight hundred hearers, was appropriated for the use of the Kaffir congregation. I reported their removal to this building under date August 23rd, 1852.

“On the first day of this month we re-opened Wesley chapel in this town for public worship, under most favourable and promising circumstances. Various circumstances had retarded our completion of the arrangements for the removal of the Fingoe and Kaffir congregation to this chapel, as originally proposed; but we were at length in a position to carry out the first intention; and I am happy to inform you, that the increase of the congregation, and other favourable indications, have very far exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Wesley chapel is so very much larger than the original chapel, that we thought we should hardly require to occupy its spacious gallery, which goes round three sides of the building. But from the first we have been compelled by the attendance to occupy the whole. On another point, also, the result has so much exceeded our anticipations, as to prove a source of great encouragement to us. The necessities of our Graham’s-Town trust-property required that, for some time to come, Wesley chapel should raise a certain amount of annual income. We resolved, therefore, to introduce what has never before been tried with any native African congregation in this part of South Africa,—namely, the practice of letting the pews. The matter was at first mentioned to the Leaders of this congregation, with some doubt as to the result, and with no expectation that it would succeed to any great extent. But the people have entered so heartily into our views, that Mr. Dugmore reports to me that upwards of two hundred and eighty sittings have been already let at a fair quarterly rent, payable in advance.

“We had anticipated that they would hire the pews in such a way as that the men would sit on one side of the chapel, while the women would occupy the other; for all the Kaffir tribes are unaccustomed in their native assemblies to see men and women sitting indiscriminately together, as they deem it somewhat of a degradation for the so-called lords of the creation to sit in an assemblage intermingled with the women. However, to our great surprise and pleasure, we found that the pew system has produced in them a desire to sit in family groups in the house of God; and thus a large number of the pews have been hired for the occupation of families and family connexions, without distinction

of sex,—as they wished in this respect to adopt wholly what they observe to be the custom prevailing in our English congregation. I need not point out to you the numerous incidental changes which will be likely to grow out of this arrangement, some of which, of a highly beneficial tendency, the people do not foresee. We should have hesitated to have *urged* them to adopt this regulation; but they were prepared for it, and proposed it themselves. We, of course, gladly acceded.

“I believe that there is no *African* congregation in the whole Colony that possesses such a place of worship as this; and it would delight you to see such a building well attended by a congregation who, themselves or their forefathers, down to a period of within the last fifteen or twenty years, were in a state of the grossest ignorance and barbarism. I question whether any man or woman of this congregation possessed a single article of clothing, excepting an ox-hide kaross, twenty-five years ago; and certainly most of them did not, even less than twenty years ago: but now the entire congregation are found clean and well-dressed, entering with devout manner upon the service of the Lord in this chapel every Sabbath-day. ‘This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.’ We need to look sometimes at these encouraging circumstances; for of late the state of the country, arising from war and evil passions, has been such as to depress our minds, and cause too many, who are either blind or prejudiced, to declare that Christian Missions have done *no good* in Southern Africa!”

The Fingoe-Kaffir congregation continued to occupy “Wesley chapel” to the time of my leaving the country in 1856. Some alterations of the pews on the ground floor, in order to adapt the building to be used as a day-school, were rendered unavoidable by our lack of means at that time to erect a school-room. But this excellent building is still occupied as the principal Fingoe-Kaffir chapel; and, since my return to England, my successor in the General Superintendency, the Rev.

William Impey, has been enabled to complete further arrangements. He has caused to be erected, near the native location, or reserve, a house for the residence of a Missionary, and a school-chapel for the benefit of the black and coloured classes, to whom building and garden lots have been assigned by the Government. These important objects have been attained chiefly by means of the pecuniary aid afforded by the present Governor, Sir George Grey, who wished in this manner to provide for an efficient day-school for the natives that are settled on this place. Since I left the Colony, the progress of conversion among the Fingoes has been more rapid than formerly; and as the fruit of a recent revival of religion in this native congregation, Mr. Impey felt justified in receiving as fully accredited members of the Church, by the rite of Christian baptism, no less than *eighty adult natives* on one Lord's day. All those, Missionaries and others, who saw the small and feeble beginning of this work, will join me in exclaiming, "What hath God wrought!"

In the year 1838 there arose a strong desire on the part of many of the natives connected with our congregation in Graham's Town, to leave that place, and go to some of the settlements, where they would have the privilege of keeping cattle, and possess more extended lands for cultivation than they could obtain in the town. For some time I dissuaded them from this, and endeavoured to obtain from the Governor the appropriation of some ground on a similar plan to that more recently adopted in regard to the native location. But at that period the Colonial Government could not make up its mind to any decided course of action for securing the legal rights to building and garden lots for the natives

of our congregation. I was, therefore, at length constrained to yield to the wishes of the people; and, a farm containing about 6,000 acres of good land, well adapted for the purpose, being at that time offered for sale, I caused it to be purchased, that we might establish a selected class of natives thereon. This place I named **FARMERFIELD**, in honour of Thomas Farmer, Esq., one of the General Treasurers of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, whose acquaintance I had made on my recent visit to England, and whom to know is to love and respect. But I need not dilate on the excellencies of a gentleman who is known throughout "Evangelical Christendom" alike for his personal piety, catholic spirit, and munificence in the cause of God.

One of the reasons which induced us to purchase this place was, its being so near to Salem,—about three miles lower down the same stream on which that village is situated,—where we always have a resident Missionary for the British settlers, and who could therefore superintend the work of God, and frequently visit and preach in this new settlement. Besides that portion of our native congregation that wished to remove hither, there were also a number of Kaffir families who had previously been residents at Wesleyville, and had there embraced Christianity; but, having been disturbed by the sad events of the Kaffir war of 1835, came into the Colony, and resolved never to return and reside again in their own country, but to seek quiet, and the protection of their lives and property, under the British Government within the Colonial territory. Mr. Daniel Roberts, who had formerly been employed in connexion with our Mission at Wesleyville, and was at this time

engaged as Teacher and Manager of the "Watson Institution" in Graham's Town, in which were several native lads under his care, to be trained as native Schoolmasters, was now removed, with that small but promising establishment, to Farmerfield. The whole arrangement was dictated both by motives of economy and a desire to extend our means of usefulness.

Mr. Roberts proved fully equal to the difficult and responsible duty which he was called to discharge, under regulations which I prescribed for his guidance; and, under his godly and discreet management, very much good resulted from this new settlement. Mr. Roberts continued to reside at Farmerfield for a series of years, until the increasing demands upon him of a growing family, which could not be met by the small stipend and allowances that he received, caused him to consider it needful for him to resign his office, and establish himself as a farmer in another part of the country. This was our first experiment, made on a cautious and limited scale, of a "School of Industry." The lads of the Watson Institution devoted a certain part of each day in school, and the remainder to industrial pursuits, which, by enabling them to raise a large portion of the food required for the establishment, and also some surplus produce for sale, all carefully managed by Mr. Roberts, considerably reduced what would otherwise have been the unavoidably heavy expense of the Institution.

I resolved to try on this native settlement a plan which I have reason to believe had not been attempted before in any similar case, but which has been adopted, in one form or another, on several missionary settle-

ments belonging to other Societies, since this system has been tried and succeeded at Farmerfield. The plan was, not to allow any rambling native who thought fit to come and squat down among his countrymen on the Station, under professions, real or feigned, of a desire to receive religious instruction; but to *let* the lands to the natives as yearly tenants, at a fixed rent, and to receive none but those who came well recommended from some person who had known their previous character, and those also who, there was good reason to believe, either by means of the stock which they brought with them, or by well known habits and occupations, possessed the means of supporting themselves and families by honest industry. The ground-rent was fixed at a low rate,—one pound sterling per annum for every head of a family, or separate house and establishment. For this sum each resident obtained a site on which to erect his dwelling, and a large piece of land to enclose for cultivation, together with the right to graze a fixed proportion of cattle and other small stock on the grass lands of the Institution. This scheme was completely successful. There were speedily as many applicants for admission as the extent of the lands would allow us to accommodate. The aggregate amount of rents more than paid the interest of the money expended in the purchase of the property; while the constantly increasing value of the land forms the best possible security for the capital that was thus invested. On all this I of course fully calculated. Although some experienced persons predicted I should be disappointed in the result, I am thankful to be able to say that my *principal* object, which referred to the religious interests of those people, has been secured to an extent that

I had hardly expected we should so soon have realized.

The settlement was subdivided into four parts. One was occupied by emancipated slaves and prize Negroes, another by Bechuanas, and the third by Kaffirs and Fingoes, while the fourth was retained for the occupation of the resident manager, and the inmates of the Watson Institution. There was considerable difficulty at first in managing their affairs, and in imparting religious instruction to such a diversified people, using such a variety of languages; for the English, Dutch, Kaffir, and Sechuana languages were all in daily use in this place among the residents. These languages were generally used in the public services, but interpreters were obtained from the people themselves. Besides the duties of Manager and Teacher, Mr. Roberts, as an accredited Local Preacher, conducted Divine worship at stated periods; and the place has always been visited by the Missionary resident at Salem, in whose Circuit, and consequently under whose pastoral care, the religious affairs of this settlement are placed.

Public worship was conducted for a long period in a rude temporary building; but a very substantial and suitable stone chapel was, in course of time, erected in an elevated spot, and very central to the several detached homesteads. The entire settlement presents a pleasing appearance. The houses erected by the people, some of them very substantial and commodious, are dotted about the sides of the hills in convenient places. The extensively cultivated lands, with here and there small plots well planted with various kinds of fruit trees, the precipitous banks of the river, in some parts covered with a spontaneous growth of wild African trees

and shrubbery, together with the long low building covered with thatch, the residence of the Manager,* on one side of the river, and the chapel, as the chief central object in the picture, on the other, have frequently excited the admiration of passing and casual visitors. But what is better than all these external signs of gradually advancing civilization and material prosperity, among a people who were born and till lately lived in a state of barbarism, is the very decided work of Divine grace which has been wrought among them. Many of the natives living in service with the neighbouring farmers attend public worship on Sundays at Farmer-field: besides these, the entire population of regular residents is about five hundred, the whole of whom are now under Christian influence and training. All attend the services of religion. Polygamy and other heathenish practices have been abandoned; and although there may remain among them a few who have not yet been baptized, and thus become recognised members of the Church, yet there are none who are avowedly heathen. The whole of the residents may be fairly regarded as a professedly Christian people. And I am happy to know and to record here, that while many in the course of years have died happy in the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, there still remains a large number of real Christians and fully accredited communicants of our Church in this place.

During the Kaffir war of 1846-7, the Kaffirs, having in vain made several attempts to seduce some of their

* At present Mr. R. Walker is the resident Manager and Catechist. He was one of the British settlers, and a Local Preacher before he left England in 1820. He has been long and usefully employed on our South African Mission.

own race who were residents in the settlement from their allegiance to the British Government, became greatly exasperated with the people of the place, who were in consequence exposed to many fierce attacks from these barbarous adversaries. Their enemies frequently succeeded in carrying off much of the live stock belonging to the people; but, by the good providence of God, their lives were generally preserved, although they inflicted serious loss on their foes in repelling their attacks. This was especially the case on one Sunday forenoon, when the enemy came unexpectedly in considerable force upon the people, and, firing repeated volleys upon them, caused apprehension for a time, that their determined hostility would prevail. The Farmerfield people, however, keeping themselves under cover, and watching their opportunity, at length made a most skilful and sudden movement upon each flank of their adversaries, thus placing them under a cross fire; and then closing bravely upon them, with rapid firing, compelled their speedy retreat. These circumstances are referred to in the following extract from a report which the Rev. Thornley Smith made in 1847 respecting Farmerfield, on his return to England, for the information of the friends of the Society at home.

“The population amounts to about four hundred persons. These, but a few years ago, were nearly all heathen; now the majority of them are not only nominal, but real, Christians; proving, by the change effected in their lives, that the Gospel is ‘the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.’ Many of them have erected for themselves neat and comfortable cottages; and, instead of being clad, as formerly, in the skins of beasts, are now dressed in European apparel. Between two and three hundred acres of land are under cultivation; each family having a portion of ground allotted to it for its own use, chargeable with

a small annual rent to the Society. Previous to the late war the inhabitants possessed a considerable stock of cattle, sheep, and horses; but the greater portion of them were, during that sad calamity, swept away by savage hordes.

“Upwards of one hundred and fifty persons in the village are members of the Church; and, generally speaking, they walk worthy of their profession. Most of the Classes are met by native Leaders, who, having themselves been ‘taught of God,’ are well qualified to give instruction and advice to others. Often have I been cheered with the relation of Christian experience which I have heard from the lips both of Leaders and private members of the Church. Who will affirm that the Kaffir, the Bechuana, or the Hottentot is incapable of understanding the truths of Christianity, and of being raised to the enjoyment of its exalted blessings? The experiment has been tried, and tried successfully. Hundreds among the native tribes of South Africa have received the Gospel; and, from the lowest state of ignorance and barbarism, have been lifted up, and set among the princes of the people of God. And these are but the first-fruits of an abundant harvest which shall eventually be gathered into the bosom of the Church.

“On the Sabbath a large congregation assembles at the chapel, morning and evening, when Divine service is conducted in the Dutch language, the sermon being interpreted into Kaffir or Bechuana. The scene which this congregation presents, is one of the most animating and delightful character. Generally a deep spirit of devotion pervades the minds of the people. They listen with great attention to the service, and repeat the responses of the prayers with correctness and propriety. They also sing with much sweetness. Many of the hymns in the Wesleyan Hymn-Book have been translated into the Dutch language, and are admirably suited to their capacities and experience.

“The Watson Institution, established for the purpose of training young men for Schoolmasters and Native Assistant Missionaries, is conducted at Farmerfield, under the judicious management of Mr. D. Roberts. This Institution has already been made a blessing to the country. Several young men, some of them the sons of native Chiefs, have been instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, &c.;

and, having become acquainted with the elements of Christian truth, have gone forth to announce to their own countrymen the glad tidings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus, by the providence of God, a native ministry is being raised up in South Africa; which, if it increase and extend, must ultimately exert a very powerful influence in the land; and tend, as we earnestly hope, to hasten on the evangelization of the native tribes.

"The Sabbath and day schools for children, on this Station, are in efficient and active operation. In their management Mr. Roberts is assisted by several pious native Teachers, of whom several were formerly scholars.

"The chapel has been recently erected. It is built of stone, and is fifty feet long by thirty feet wide. The inhabitants of the village greatly assisted in its erection by drawing the whole of the stone, the quarries being at a considerable distance from the site. The liberality towards the cause of Christ, which the native converts on this Station evince, is worthy of all praise, and furnishes abundant proof of the change effected in their hearts. Many of them not only pay their class and ticket moneys, but also contribute liberally to the funds of the Missionary Society. A Missionary Meeting is held annually, on which occasion addresses are delivered by natives in three or four different languages; after which the people come forward and present their contributions to the missionary cause with great readiness and joy. The subscriptions and donations amounted last year to upwards of £20."

On December 1st, 1837, the system of apprenticeship which had been appointed to succeed slavery was abolished, and from and after this day the late slaves, or so-called apprentices, were at liberty to go forth as entirely free, with no other restraint than the obligation to observe and obey the laws of the land, which, while they afford protection to all, properly require obedience alike from all. Among the emancipated people in the north-eastern districts there were many of a very intelligent and industrious class, who were anxious to

establish themselves in some locality where they might enjoy the ordinances of religion, together with schools for their children, and where, by occupying lands adapted to cultivation, and engaging in other industrial pursuits, they might maintain themselves in such comfort and enjoyment as were adapted to their circumstances and station in society. A favourable opening presenting itself, the Rev. W. B. Boyce and myself assumed the responsibility arising from the purchase of an extensive tract of land vacated by certain emigrant Dutch farmers, and formed a native village, chiefly with a view to the benefit of this class of people. These lands were situated near the sources of the Zwart Kei River, on the northern base of the lofty Winter Berg, which is said to rise to the height of 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. The stream forming the limit of these farms on the east was also the boundary line of the Colony, and immediately on the opposite side of the river was the country regarded as belonging to the Abatembu or Tembookie people; but only some small clans of that nation at that period resided near this part of the border. The locality was included in the Cradock District. It was, however, some eighty miles distant from the district town, and consequently the people in that region were living almost entirely without the means of religious instruction. Our District Meeting approved the proposal to commence a Mission at this place, which was called "Haslope Hills," in memory of an excellent gentleman who had formerly been one of the Treasurers of our Missionary Society; and the Rev. John Ayliff was considered specially qualified to commence this Mission, and carry out the plans of an industrial character which were

projected and prescribed as desirable in conducting the same.

Mr. Ayliff removed from Wesleyville to this new Station about September, 1839; and the following extract from one of his communications contains some interesting particulars as to the classes of natives who were speedily received on this Institution, and the commencement of his labours among them.

“The Committee are aware, that, for the purpose of making provision for the late slave population, this Mission was principally established. This class of people, residing in these parts, is generally of the mixed race, originally of Negro blood, and some of Malay descent. This people, from their knowledge of the African climate, soil, seasons, productions, and capabilities, as also from their industrious habits, (industrious, I mean, in comparison of the Dutch or Hottentot,) will rise to the possession of property, provided the means are afforded them of bringing into exercise their knowledge and industry. They constitute the rural working class; they use the plough and sickle well, can with great ability train oxen to the yoke, attend sheep, and are generally the best skilled in irrigation, which is a most important branch of African agriculture.

“It is most pleasing to see their general improvement, and especially in the article of dress; and on those farms on which the proprietor manifests a friendly disposition to help them, they not only improve their own condition, but the condition of their benefactor. There is at a place called Nauw Poort, about twelve miles distant, a large family of them; they assist Mynheer Krejger, to whom the farm belongs, in every department of farming; and he, in return, allows them the run of the farm for their cattle, sheep, and goats, and also a considerable extent of land for the purpose of corn lands. They possess a wagon, three hundred breeding sheep and goats, and fifty head of cattle; last year they raised one hundred and fifty bushels of grain, principally good wheat, and this year there is every appearance of their getting double this quantity. Did this country

afford facilities for the attainment of small farms, and this class once become landed proprietors, they would constitute the most thriving part of the population.

“We might have had a much larger number of this people on the Mission ground than we have got; but some not having stock sufficient, or being useful to the farmers with whom they resided, without injury to themselves, I have used my influence to induce them to continue in service. Amongst this people, there is every prospect of usefulness; they attend as frequently as they can to Sabbath services, and I visit them at the places where they reside. They now consider the Wesleyan Missionary their Minister, and this place as their own.

“The other portion of the population consists of Bushmen, Fingoes, and Tembookies. The Bushmen of these parts are found in a state of civilization; though as fond as ever of the chase, or following the game. From marks now existent, it is evident that the whole of this mountain country, and the country now occupied by the Tembookies, was, not long since, the Bushmen’s country; but in consequence of their continued and extensive depredations, committed on the colonists, they have become scattered, and as a nation they are not known.

The following extract from one of Mr. Ayliff’s communications contains some interesting particulars:—

“In my journeyings I am often cast amongst the Dutch colonists; and at the present time there is a constant communication kept open between the colonists and the emigrants, so that I have frequent opportunities of hearing their views of missionary labour in the country north of the Orange River. Generally speaking, they talk of our Missions there as something very wonderful. The following are a few remarks made by one of these people respecting our operations. ‘In my journey,’ says the farmer, ‘I came to the School,’ (so the Dutch call our Stations,) ‘and I stayed the Sabbath with the Missionary. I was kindly treated. In the morning I went to the kirk, and I was astonished to see so many *Heidenen*’ (Heathens) ‘there. I was seated near to the pulpit, and on either side of me were *Heidenen* well clothed, and two of these who sat next to me, I was told,

were both *Zendlings*' (Missionaries). '*Neef*,' said he, *twee zwaarte Zendlings!*' (two black Missionaries!) 'The people sang, and the *Englishman*' (the Missionary) 'began to preach in the language of the Heathen. He threw his arms about, and spoke so loud and fast, that I was sure he was mighty in their language; and from the appearance of the *Heidenen* while he preached, I am sure they felt his word.'

"The following account is from a Dutch woman, one of the emigrants. 'One afternoon,' said she, 'I saw a wagon approaching our place of abode, and some of the *zwaarte Heidenen*' (black Heathens) 'came from the wagon, to ask permission to remain there for the night. Unwillingly, I gave my consent; and when I found that the wagon was the property of the Captain of the Heathen, I became much alarmed, being alone. In the evening, as the sun was setting, I saw the Captain call his family and people together at the side of the wagon, and, just as a Christian would do, he took out a book, and they all sang a hymn in their own language; he then read what I found was the Bible, spoke to his people like a *Predekant* (Preacher); when the whole of them knelt down on the ground, while the heathen Captain prayed; after which they spent the evening round the fire at the side of their wagon, as if they were the happiest people in the world.'

"In many instances have the most judicious of the emigrants remarked, that the Heathen were making progress in Christian knowledge, while they and their children were going backwards."

Two of the occasional plagues of this part of Southern Africa are described in the following extract, dated June 24th, 1843.

"Up to the present, it has been my happiness to report encouragingly of this Mission; but of late it has pleased the Lord, in the dispensation of His providence, to afflict the land with a twofold scourge,—a drought, and the locust,—which painful circumstance has greatly unsettled the inhabitants of the Institution, compelling them to leave in search of pastures for the remnants of their cattle.

"A drought, when the Almighty withholds the fertilizing rains and dews of heaven, is a scourge of the most afflictive description. In this mountain region, the springs and rivers are dependent principally upon the snows of winter; but when there is a scarcity of snow, and when the little that remains is consumed by the drought of a premature summer, the fountains merely put forth an oozing stream barely sufficient to reach the foot of the mountain or hill; the consequence is, that the means of irrigation are withheld from the husbandman, and his corn-fields and gardens perish for want of moisture. The beds of the rivers contain nothing but stagnant pools, which prove, from the pestilent atmosphere engendered, as destructive to animal life as the drought is to vegetable life. Some of the people of the Institution were travelling in the country west of the Cradock District, where the drought had prevailed with awful fierceness; and on their return, when giving a description of the state of that country, they remarked that nothing was to be seen but clouds of dust, and cattle running about in search of water; which description seemed illustrative of the threatened curse: 'The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust: from heaven it shall come down upon thee, and thou shalt be destroyed.' (Deut. xxviii. 24.)

"To the drought have succeeded the locusts. These have appeared in swarms far more numerous than during twenty-three years' residence in South Africa I have ever seen. In the flights were observed distinctly two sorts,—the small common locust, and a larger kind; both kinds marked with a blood-red streak down the centre of each wing: the latter was much more voracious than the former. It is not possible for me to describe the state of barrenness to which the whole country has been reduced by this twofold visitation.

"Notwithstanding these trying circumstances, we continue to have encouraging proofs that our labour is not in vain in the Lord. Of late we have added to this Circuit a place called Winterhoek, containing a rising population of English and natives. This place is about thirty miles distant, the road very difficult, crossing the Winterburg at nearly its highest part. At my last visit, I baptized two natives, and admitted to membership a person who had had no opportunity of connecting herself with God's people for the last

twenty-two years, before which time she was a member of the class under the care of Mrs. Shaw at Salem."

The interesting character of the work on this Station is reported in the following brief extract from a letter written by the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, November 5th, 1845, while he was temporarily sojourning at Haslope Hills :—

"The Sabbath congregations are of a very interesting character; not the less so from the variety of the races of which they are composed. Tembookies, Fingoes, Hottentots, Mosambiques, Malays, and mixtures of them all, combine to make up the 'gathering' that takes place on that day. On foot, on horseback, and in wagons, they congregate from every direction, all (with the exception of some of the Fingoes) *cleanly and respectably clothed in British manufactures*. There are three services during the day, in the Dutch, Kaffir, and Bechuana languages, besides the school. The attendance at the Sunday-school, during the few weeks I have been here, has averaged about a hundred and thirty; at the day-school, fifty. The Dutch department is suffering for want of elementary books. I hope, however, this lack will soon be supplied, as we are printing a Dutch school-book at our press, which must be very nearly ready.

"The most interesting class of people on this Station are the emancipated slaves. There are activity, industry, and enterprise amongst them; and, having acquired some of the arts of civilization amongst the Boors, their former masters, their example is operating beneficially on those who are but just emerging from barbarism. The Fingoes are restless and unsettled, and in many instances make this Station a mere temporary halting-place on their way to Kamastone, which is a great point of attraction to them at present."

Early in the following year the Kaffir war broke out, and this settlement, in common with many other places on this border, was placed in serious difficulties. The natives all remained faithful to their allegiance, and, in conjunction with the Abatembus (Tembookies) of the

Station, called Lesseyton, rendered very valuable service to the Government in the dangerous emergency which had arisen. After Sir Harry Smith arrived, and made peace in 1848, he offered valuable lands to all the principal families of the Station, in the newly acquired territory; and they gladly agreed to accept them, as a grant from the Government, which designed hereby to reward their past services, and likewise to place them where they might be useful, in the event of another war, in aiding the defence of that part of the border. Haslope Hills, which had suffered materially during the recent hostilities, was consequently no longer needed for the purposes of a native settlement, and this Station was therefore discontinued; while the natives obtained sufficient land at and near Lesseyton, and were placed under the pastoral care of our Missionary resident on that place. The Fingoe portion of the people obtained lands from the Government near Kamastone, and ultimately their religious interests were provided for by the Mission established there under the superintendence of the Rev. W. Shepstone. Hence, although Haslope Hills has been discontinued as a Mission Station, and the lands have been disposed of, the labours of the brethren who resided on this spot during the few years that it was occupied, have proved like "bread cast on the waters," and are even now, "after many days," seen in many pleasing and abiding results in the neighbourhood of the flourishing Missions at Kamastone and Lesseyton.

I must not extend these details concerning our work among the various classes of natives of the Eastern Province. The only Missionary settlements, properly so called, which we established in the province, were Farmer-

field and Haslope Hills, and I have narrated an outline of their history above. But, in all our *Colonial Circuits* we have endeavoured, while providing for the spiritual wants of our congregations among the British settlers and others of European descent, to secure, as far as circumstances will allow, the religious instruction of all classes of the native African race, who live in and around the towns and villages where our Missionaries are stationed. I have already described, at some length, the progress of our work among these people in Graham's Town. In *Salem* we have also a numerous congregation, who occupy the old chapel in which they used to enjoy separate services, even while the English continued to use it; but since the latter have erected a more handsome and suitable building for themselves, the old chapel has been devoted to the use of the large native congregation which now regularly assembles therein.

In the *Bathurst* Circuit we have long had two or three small native congregations, especially at Clumber and Barville Park, where many of the natives have received much spiritual good. At Clumber we employed, under the direction of the Missionary, an excellent Native Teacher, named John Ncapaye, who, however, with another was killed near Bathurst by the Kaffirs during the war of 1846. John Ncapaye was a most zealous Christian, and had obtained by reading the Scriptures a very correct acquaintance with the narratives, doctrines, and duties set forth in the sacred books. He was at once an energetic and useful Native Teacher, and his death was a great loss.

In all the native congregations within the Colony, Annual Meetings are held to obtain missionary contributions from them in aid of the operations of the Society.

These meetings are conducted in a similar manner to the Missionary Meetings in England. They are very useful, as affording many of the natives an opportunity to express their own sentiments and feelings regarding the propagation of Christianity among them; and they furnish likewise a useful test of the sincerity of native converts. Many of the African tribes are extremely selfish in their dispositions; and whenever they readily and freely contribute of their money or other means in aid of the Mission cause, it may, in their circumstances, be regarded as generally a very decisive evidence of the sense of obligation, or the deep interest, which they feel in the matter. I will therefore here insert, as a specimen, a brief report of the substance of speeches delivered at a Native Missionary Meeting, held in the Bathurst Circuit, and furnished by the Rev. John Smith, in a letter bearing date, March 12th, 1844.

“The following day we held a Missionary Meeting, for the first time in this place, among the natives. I had previously taken the opportunity of reminding them of what the Gospel had done for them, and of urging upon them the necessity of sending the same word to their countrymen who had never heard it, and who are perishing without a knowledge of Christ and His salvation. Several of them spoke with great effect. One of them, when speaking of the word of God, said, ‘This word, which has been brought to us by the Teachers, is an old word: it is as old as the foundation of the world, and therefore we can trust to it; we can make it our guide, and it will not deceive us. If it had been a new word, that had just come into the world, and that no one had ever heard of before, then it might not be true, it might deceive us, and lead us into a wrong path.’ In another part of his speech, when describing the sweetness of the word of God, he said, ‘You all know that honey is sweet, and you like to eat it. But what is honey? I can eat honey till I am full, and satisfied, and sick; but the word of God

is sweeter than honey, and I can never eat too much of that. I can never eat of it till I am full, and satisfied, and sick.' How forcibly was I reminded of the beautiful language of the Psalmist! 'O how love I thy law! It is sweeter to me than honey or the honeycomb.' Another, when urging the people to give toward the support of the cause of God, said, 'Some of you say you cannot give any money because you have not got any; but when you were in your heathen state, before the word of God came to you, if you were sick, and the witch-doctor was sent for, you never told him that you had not anything to give him. You knew he would do nothing for you unless you gave him what he asked for; and if you had only one cow, you made no hesitation to give it to him. And now the word of God has come to you, and you are asked to give something towards sending this word to those who have not heard of it, you must not say you cannot give; because you have goats, and oxen, and cows; and if you have not money, you can give one of them.' Their subscriptions at the close of the Meeting were very good, far beyond anything I expected; affording a proof that they have not received the grace of God in vain; for wherever the religion of Christ is felt and enjoyed, it destroys the natural selfishness of the human heart."

The following extract from a report of a similar meeting at Graham's Town, as given in the local journal, is the latest of the kind that has reached me. The Meeting was held in the middle of the year 1859.

"NATIVE MISSIONARY MEETING.—On Monday evening last, a very interesting Missionary Meeting was held in Wesley chapel, for the natives belonging to the Wesleyan Society in Graham's Town. All present were cleanly dressed, while their behaviour was admired by their European brethren, and would have done credit to any Christian congregation, however highly civilized. The Chairman, Mr. Joseph Walker, sen., opened the business by a suitable address, which he delivered in the Dutch language; after which he called upon the Rev. Mr. Impey, who gave, in the Kafir language, a very interesting account of his late tour of visitation to a great number of Mission Stations both

within and beyond the colonial border; upon all of which the great work of God seems to be progressing satisfactorily. The speakers were the Revs. W. Impey, Richards, and Sergeant, and Messrs. Janion and Birkett; of the natives, Johannes September, Danga, and Williams. The speeches were all very appropriate, and were listened to with great attention. Upon the whole, it was a very interesting meeting, and likely to be productive of good. The collection on the occasion was close upon £30, and would probably have exceeded that sum, handsome as it is, had it not been for the severe drought and the dearth of provisions."

At *Fort Beaufort*, a considerable native congregation has been collected, who worship in a chapel erected while the Rev. W. Impey was stationed at that place in the year 1847, and which, having been temporarily occupied by the English congregation, was, on the enlargement and other improvements of the original chapel, given up by the English for the sole use of the natives, who had in the mean time been accustomed to assemble in the school-room. Besides this congregation there are two or three other congregations, consisting of natives chiefly of the Kaffir-Fingoe race, who reside in locations assigned for their use on the extensive and valuable town lands of Fort Beaufort. In illustration of the state and character of the work in the native congregations at Fort Beaufort about the period when the native chapel was erected, I will here insert an extract of a letter from the Rev. W. Impey:—

"Our native work continues to present a very encouraging aspect. On Sunday, the 12th instant, the Fingoe service was one of more than ordinary interest. Fourteen candidates were admitted into full membership of the Church of Christ by the ordinance of baptism. After our usual morning prayers, I endeavoured briefly to explain the nature of the ordinance about to be administered, and addressed the candidates on the importance of the step they were

taking in the making an open profession of their faith in Christ. I then called upon each of them to state the circumstances of the first religious impressions experienced, and also the progress of the work of grace in the soul: and as one and another declared the operation of the Spirit in the work of individual conversion, great feeling was excited amongst all present, in which I also richly shared. One young man received his first convictions from being witness to a fatal accident in which a man was killed by a fall from his horse. Another young man and his wife were led to seek God by the death of a much-loved child; one, by the death of her father; one, by instruction received in the schools; some, under the ministry of the word; and one man who had previously been in the most complete heathen darkness, not knowing that he had a soul, but believing himself to die like the beasts that perish, had his attention aroused by a casual word spoken to him on the road by some white man. Thus, amongst this long benighted people, there are not wanting witnesses of the Redeemer's grace, and thus 'there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit,—differences of administrations, but the same Lord,—diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.' In the evening of the same day, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the English chapel, and the newly-baptized converts there joined us at the table of the Lord. May the Great Head of the Church answer the prayers which were then offered, that these members of His body may be preserved blameless unto the day of His appearing! and may such prove but the first-fruits of a glorious harvest of like precious souls!"

At *Cradoek* there is likewise a considerable congregation of natives of various races who occupy the chapel originally built for the English. At *Somerset*, these classes of the people regularly worship in a suitable school-chapel erected for the purpose. There are also congregations of emancipated slaves and other coloured people in this Circuit, at and adjacent to the distant settlement of the English, called *Ebenezer*, near the

Sunday's River, not far from Graaff-Reinett. At *Colesberg* we have a chapel for the natives, which has become too small for the congregation. There is at *Queen's Town* a native congregation, which regularly assembles for religious instruction. At *King William's Town* the native congregation, which occupies a commodious school-chapel, is also considerable in number.

Port Elizabeth was in fact the only colonial Station where for many years we had no native congregation; and this arose not from want of inclination on the part of our Missionaries stationed at this place to preach to the natives, but the field was pre-occupied in a rather unexpected manner by another Society. When we first resolved on appointing a Missionary to this important place, to meet the wants and wishes of a portion of the English inhabitants, knowing that the Rev. A. Robson, of the London Missionary Society, had already collected a numerous congregation of Hottentots and emancipated slaves, to whom he preached in the Dutch language, we announced from the beginning, that although our Missionary was well qualified to preach in that language, he would not do so, lest it might in any way interfere with Mr. Robson's most zealous and useful labours among that class of the community. As, however, we observed that there was an increasing number of the Fingoe-Kaffir race, who were being attracted to Port Elizabeth by the high wages they could earn by their labour on the beach; we made known our intention that our Missionary should commence services for the special benefit of this class of the natives, who did not understand Dutch. While, however, arrangements were in progress for this purpose, an agent of the London Missionary Society, who had just arrived from England,

and who had been sent by the Society for the Bechuana country, was diverted from his proper destination, and placed in Port Elizabeth, with directions to devote himself exclusively to the instruction of the very people for whom we were about to make provision, and many of whom had already been more or less under the instruction of some of our Missionaries on the frontier. Thus an important part of the work contemplated by us on the commencement of this Mission was taken out of our hands; and as the number of this class of the people at that time in Port Elizabeth was hardly sufficient to occupy the whole time of a Missionary, we were unwilling to distract the attention of the people by establishing a separate service for them. In making this statement I am not anxious to utter any censure on the parties who then set aside what I had considered a friendly arrangement. No doubt they acted as they believed their duty required. "Christ was preached," and good was done among the Fingoes, by our brethren of the Society named above, and "I therein rejoice, yea, and will rejoice;" but I have deemed it right to furnish this explanation to many of our friends, both at home and in the Colony, who have occasionally inquired why we had no native congregation in Port Elizabeth. Latterly, however, as the population of the Kaffir-speaking races has increased in this town, and at their urgent request, our Missionary, and the zealous Sunday School Teachers and Local Preachers, have taken measures with some success for the formation of a native congregation here also.

It will be observed, that I have avoided entering into much detail as to the work among the natives on the various Stations, although there is abundant material at

hand ; but the statements given respecting our proceedings on a few of the Colonial Circuits are a fair sample of what might be furnished in reference to each and all of them. The chief point which I wish to impress on the reader's mind is, that all our Colonial Circuits established for the religious benefit of the British settlers are in the strictest sense *Missionary Stations*, providing for the instruction and evangelization of the numerous heathen living among and around the Colonists. On every Station there is at least one, and in some there are several congregations that have been collected from the heathen tribes. The annual return of members or accredited communicants of our Church from every Circuit, includes a full proportion of native converts, while a large number of the pupils in our numerous schools belong to this class of the general population. The great importance of our labours in this direction may be estimated by the fact that there are probably at present twice as many of the native African people in the Eastern Province as the total of its European population. Much, very much yet remains to be done among them. Large numbers are still in a barbarous and semi-savage state ; but the very encouraging measure of success which has already attended the labours of our Missionaries, and those of other Societies and Churches, wherever it has been practicable to employ systematic efforts for their benefit, affords strong reason to justify the hope that, by the Divine blessing on the employment of a more extended agency and larger means, the mass of these people will, at no very distant period, be taught "the right ways of the Lord," and thus render the triumph of Christianity complete in this portion of Southern Africa.

CHAPTER II.

KAFFIR MISSION—PREPARATORY PROCEEDINGS.

My earnest Desire to commence this Mission—First Attempt to establish a Mission in Kaffraria—Dr. Vanderkemp—Mission abandoned—Renewed by Rev. Mr. Williams—His Death—Singular Colloquy between Gaika and the Governor—Great inter-tribal Kaffir War—Destruction of Mr. Williams's Station by Natives—Peace restored—Government establishes a politico-ecclesiastical Mission at Chumie—Rev. Messrs. Brownlie and W. R. Thomson—Arrival of the British Settlers—All Intercourse between them and the Kaffirs prohibited—Illicit Traffic—Fairs and Weekly Markets established—My first Interview with a Kaffir—Correspondence with the Government—Political Parties and Divisions among the Kaffir Tribes—Plan formed for future Missionary Operations—Further Appeals to Government on the Subject—Obtain Leave to visit Kaffraria—Memoranda concerning this first Visit to the Country—Travelling Outfit—Meet a Party of Kaffirs—Chumie Mission—Missionary Prayer-Meeting—Meet with Makomo, Son of Gaika—Curious Conversation with a Kaffir—Tsatzoe's Kraal—Apathy of the Kaffirs regarding religious Instruction—Gaika's Kraal—Interview with Gaika—Conversation with him—His Wives—His vacillating Conduct—Preparation to return to the Colony—Invited to revisit Gaika—Call at his Residence—Renewed Conversation about the proposed Mission—His Jealousy of the Coast Tribes—His Consent that I should pass through his Country to that of the Congo (Kungwa) Chiefs—Return Home—Hunting Party—Elephants—Renewed Application to the Colonial Government—Obtain the Governor's Sanction to commence the proposed Mission—The first Link in a contemplated Chain of Stations—Rev. W. Shepstone, his Character and Missionary Career—Second Visit to Kaffraria—Arrive at Pato's Kraal—First Interview with the Chief—Symbol of Nobility—A Night's Lodging—Kaffir Council—Encouragement from the Scriptures—Obtain Pato's Consent to establish a Mission—Select a Site for the proposed Station.

FROM the time when I received my appointment to Southern Africa, as Chaplain or Minister to a party of British settlers, my mind was filled with the idea that Divine Providence designed, after I had accomplished some preparatory work among the settlers who were located on the border of Kaffraria, that I should proceed beyond the colonial boundaries, and establish a Wesleyan Mission among the Kaffirs. Hence I resolved not to be disobedient to the heavenly call; but while steadily pursuing the work of the day, my eye was constantly fixed on Kaffraria, as a great field for future Missions. I thought about it, talked about it, read every scrap of intelligence I could obtain concerning it, and often prayed and engaged others to pray with me, that “a wide and effectual door” might in due season “be opened” before us into these “regions beyond.” My views and feelings on this subject were expressed in a letter to the Missionary Committee, written at Salem in the year 1820, only a few months after my arrival at that place.

“This Station will be the key to Kaffirland, a country abounding with heathen inhabitants. Certainly the present is not the time for penetrating that country; but I hope the present turbulent spirit of that people will soon begin to subside, and then I should wish to see a Wesleyan Missionary ready to take advantage of the opportunity to enter and proclaim upon their mountains ‘good tidings, and to publish peace and salvation.’ The time might soon follow, when you would see on your lists Stations among the Tambookies, the Mambookies, and the various tribes of people between us and Delagoa Bay.

“I hope the Committee will never forget that, with

the exception of Latakoo, which is far in the interior, *there is not a single Missionary Station* between the place of my residence, and the northern extremity of the Red Sea; nor any people professedly Christian, with the exception of those of Abyssinia. Here, then, is a wide field,—the *whole eastern coast of the continent of Africa!* If ever the words of the Saviour were applicable to any part of the world at any time, surely they apply to Eastern Africa at the present time: ‘*The harvest is great, but the labourers are few.*’ How should Christian men pray that the ‘Lord of the harvest would send forth labourers into His harvest!’”

The first attempt to establish a Christian Mission among the border tribe of Kaffirs, was made in the year 1799 by Dr. Vanderkemp, who had been sent as a Missionary to South Africa by the London Missionary Society. Dr. Vanderkemp was in all respects an extraordinary man. He had been originally an officer in the Dutch army, in which he rose to the rank of Captain in the Dragoons, and subsequently Colonel in the Militia. While in the military service, he was at once an infidel and a libertine. After retiring from the army, he graduated at Edinburgh, where he greatly distinguished himself as a medical student; and on leaving the University he established a successful practice as Doctor of Medicine at Middleburgh. By a wondrous work of Divine grace he was converted from the error of his ways, and became a devout believer and decided Christian. Having had “much forgiven, he loved much;” and in the fervour of his zeal for God, he entered into the spirit of the great Missionary movement which, by the efforts of the fathers and founders of the London and Baptist Missionary

Societies, had been communicated to evangelical Christians on the Continent of Europe. Vanderkemp's offer to go out as a Missionary, and his destination with some other German and Dutch Missionaries to Southern Africa, were probably influenced by the fact that at that time the European Colonists were chiefly of Dutch and German descent.

On his arrival at the Cape he soon decided to proceed with a younger colleague (Mr. Edwards) to Kaffraria. The time was, however, very unfavourable for the effort. The border was disturbed both by war and rebellion; and with all his great qualities of learning, knowledge of the world, and unshrinking self-denial, Vanderkemp appears to have been somewhat eccentric and deficient in sound judgment, and therefore was not well adapted to be the chief director and leader of a missionary enterprise of this kind, amidst difficulties such as at that time surrounded the undertaking. He managed, however, to enter the country at its western extremity near the Kat River, having travelled from Graaff-Reinett for the purpose. He introduced himself to the Chief Gaika,—an outlawed Dutch farmer, then in the country, being employed as interpreter. With some hesitation he was allowed by Gaika to fix his residence at a place at no great distance from the principal kraal or residence of that Chieftain. Here he lived for some time in great discomfort; and after his colleague had abandoned the field for a mission in another country, he was left without a companion. There were some English deserters and expatriated Dutch boors in Kaffraria at this period, who, fearing the influence which Vanderkemp might exercise over the Chief, filled his mind with suspicions concerning him; but, as might

have been foreseen, these ultimately extended to the whole of the white men, and their Hottentot attendants, that had come to Kaffraria from the Colony. Their situation became at length so critical that nearly the whole of them felt compelled to make their escape from the country, travelling round the northern slopes of the Amatola Mountains, till they reached safely that part of the Colony which now forms the Cradock division. Vanderkemp accompanied them; and thus terminated his attempt to establish a Mission, after a residence in Kaffraria of about eighteen months.

No further effort was made to introduce the Gospel into Kaffraria during the following fifteen years. But at length the Colonial Government, influenced by political considerations, affecting the peace of the frontier, granted permission to the London Missionary Society to renew their attempt. The Rev. Mr. Williams, therefore, with the concurrence of the Chief Gaika, established himself, in June, 1816, on the Kat River, a short distance higher up that stream than the place where Fort Beaufort now stands. The spot chosen was then near the colonial boundary, and in the district forming the western extremity of the Kaffir country. Here Mr. Williams, who was a Missionary of great devotedness and industry, soon succeeded in collecting a number of Kaffirs, and a still larger number of Ghonaquas, a border tribe of Hottentots who had mingled much with the Kaffirs during one or two generations, and many of whom consequently could speak the Kaffir language. Among this people the indefatigable Williams and his excellent wife laboured with ardent zeal, amidst serious difficulties. Their efforts were not without success; for they established a regular congregation, their

people learned to observe the Sabbath, and a few embraced Christianity. The efforts of Mr. Williams were, however, too exhausting. He erected a dwelling-house and school-house, and made a dam across the Kat River, thereby turning its waters for the purpose of irrigating the cultivated lands. These heavy labours were chiefly the work of his own hands : his health, however, failed, and he died on the 23rd of August, 1818, having been a faithful witness for Christ among this clan of Kaffirs for the space of about two years and two months. His widow, left alone among the natives, made known her painful situation to the nearest friends ; and Mr. Hart, of Somerset, most promptly and kindly proceeded to the Kat River, and removed Mrs. Williams into the Colony.

A few months before Mr. Williams's death, a rather singular colloquy took place between the Chief Gaika and Lord Charles Somerset, at that time Governor of the Colony, relative to the Mission at the Kat River. It occurred at an interview respecting the affairs of the border ; and Mr. Williams, in a written statement made at the time, thus refers to it : " While his Lordship was thus calling the Chief's attention to the affairs of his nation in a political point of view, Gaika very abruptly broke into another subject in the following terms : ' It is much to our disgrace that we go forth to steal, now that we have God's word among us ; but the fact is, the Kaffirs will not hear it.' He then asked the following questions : ' What is the Missionary come into the land for ? ' His Lordship answered, ' To teach you the word of God.' ' Who has sent him ? ' said the Chief. The Governor replied, that I had been sent by the friends of Christianity over the world,

through the medium of the English Government ; and that, therefore, he (the Governor) was bound to protect me, and said he hoped Gaika would do the same. Gaika further asked his Excellency, 'how he should understand the word.' This question put his Lordship rather to a stand ; but his attendants, perceiving this, suggested for answer, that he (Gaika) should 'pay attention to what was said, and put it into practice ; that it was the Missionary's duty to inform him what he wished to know on that subject ; but that they were now come on another subject, and they wished him to attend to it.'"

A few months after the death of Mr. Williams, there arose a fierce war between the coast tribes of Kaffirs under Hintsa, Dhlambi, and Congo, on the one hand, and the tribes under Gaika, on the other. A great pitched battle, a rare occurrence among the Amaxosa Kaffirs, was fought on the Debe flats, not many miles from the present site of King William's Town. Gaika and his confederate Chiefs were utterly defeated, and fled to the extremity of their country along the Bavian's and Fish River, at that time the border of the Colony. The Kat River Mission Station was plundered and destroyed by the victorious Kaffirs, and such of the natives as had remained upon it were scattered, many of them escaping into the Colony. This inter-tribal war soon extended itself to the Colony ; and the Colonial Government having unhappily adopted the erroneous notion that Gaika was the true King or head of the Kaffir nation, the British and Burgher forces were employed not only to repel certain attacks of the Kaffirs from the coast country, but also in support of the cause of legitimacy, in imitation of the service on which

much greater armies had been recently engaged on the continent of Europe.

After peace was once more restored, the Colonial Government, for some unexplained reason, resolved to commence a Mission in the country of Gaika, on its own account, and to constitute the Missionaries at the same time its agents or representatives, making them the channel of all communications to and from the Chief Gaika. The Rev. J. Brownlee, who had been sent to South Africa by the London Missionary Society, accepted an appointment as the Government Missionary in 1820, and was joined by the Rev. W. R. Thomson, of the Church of Scotland, who arrived from Glasgow in November, 1821, being accompanied by Mr. Bennie, at that time a Catechist of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and subsequently ordained as one of its Missionaries. Mr. Brownlee selected the site of his Mission on a very suitable part of the Chumie River, and soon collected around him several families who had already been under the instruction of the late Mr. Williams. Thus, while "the workman" was dead and buried, "God carried on His work" by other agents. The excellent character and zealous, although brief, labours of Mr. Williams had produced an effect on the minds of many of the Gaika Kaffirs, which doubtless induced them to receive with less suspicion and prejudice, than they might otherwise have done, the Missionaries who now successively entered their country.

Shortly after the arrival of the British settlers on the border of the Colony, the Government issued a notice prohibiting all intercourse between them and the Kaffirs. It was to be regarded as a capital crime for

any Colonist to cross the boundary into the Kaffir country, and any Kaffir coming into the Colonial country was liable to be shot, or, if taken into custody, was to be transported to Robben Island, situated in Table Bay, near Cape Town. This was no doubt a very mistaken policy, but I am bound to testify that it was prompted by a good motive. The Government, from past events, had arrived at the conclusion, that there was no possibility of maintaining peace on the border, excepting by a strict system of non-intercourse between the Colonists and the Kaffirs. But it is quite impossible in Africa to prevent the frequent intermingling of borderers, especially when the desires and interests of the people on both sides of the boundaries strongly prompt them to seek mutual intercourse. Hence the Government regulation proved worse than useless; for a smuggling trade very naturally arose between the border settlers and the nearer tribes of Kaffirs. This was greatly favoured by the bushy and impracticable character of the country, which enabled the persons engaged in this traffic to elude the activity of the military patrols. The natives were rich in cattle, which the settlers needed; the latter possessed iron, beads, buttons, and other articles which were highly prized by the Kaffirs: consequently the profit and advantage to those engaged in this kind of barter, whether Kaffirs or Colonists, were so considerable, that they mutually ran all necessary risk in order to secure them. But as both parties knew it was an unauthorized traffic, it was of course demoralizing in its tendency; and while it is likely some of these English traders, in the absence of a fair competition, occasionally took undue advantage of the ignorance of those with whom

they dealt, the Kaffirs not unfrequently, after receiving the price bargained for, refused to deliver the cattle and other commodities sold, telling the astonished smuggler to go and complain to his Government! Such a state of things was much more likely to produce bad feelings and bloodshed, than anything that could have arisen under an open and authorized system of intercourse and traffic. The Government, after one or two abortive attempts, at length made arrangements for establishing fairs, to which the Kaffirs and the settlers might resort for the purpose of mutual barter. The regulations were at first much too restrictive, and consequently were not satisfactory to either party. By degrees, however, the restrictions were relaxed; and, after long delay, a weekly market was eventually held, which led to a considerable traffic on a plan that was agreeable and beneficial both to the traders and the Kaffirs. This trade, ultimately established at Fort Willshire, was, in fact, the first authorized movement towards the commencement of a regular and peaceful commerce with the Kaffir tribes.

With reference to the establishment of this traffic, the following allusion is made in my journal, dated August 27th, 1821. “We are about to have a *fair*, to establish confidence and secure the mutual interests of the settlers and the Kaffirs. It will be held near Fort Willshire. I think of attending, in order to vend, among the multitude of both nations, those wares which exceed all others in value; to offer, without money and without price, to Kaffirs, Hottentots, English, and Dutch, the blessings of the Gospel.” The prevailing feelings of my heart at this period were further stimulated by my first personal interview with a Kaffir, which took place under circumstances calculated to

direct my mind to the necessity of making some decisive effort for commencing a Wesleyan Mission in Kaffraria. The proposed fair could not be holden, in consequence of border hostilities provoked by an inroad of a party of Kaffirs, who stole a number of cattle and murdered an English boy that was herding them. The Chief, Gaika, on the demand of the authorities, sent into the Colony a Kaffir, whom he declared to be the murderer of the boy. I visited this man in the prison at Graham's Town. I was introduced with my interpreter into the yard of the prison, which was surrounded by high stone walls. The Kaffir, a big burly-looking man, more than six feet high, entirely naked, excepting a piece of ox-hide thrown loosely over his shoulders, rose to receive me: his countenance was very repulsive, and he squatted down on the ground moodily, as it was explained to him that I was a Teacher come to talk with him. I asked him if he knew there is a God. *A.* "I have heard so, but I don't know, I never saw Him." When he had admitted that he had a soul, or had heard so, I asked, "What will become of your soul when you die?" Here he appeared much agitated, imagining that I had come to pass sentence upon him; and affirmed that he did not kill the English boy. I told him I did not come to judge, but to teach him: he knew nothing, however, about a future state. I said he should pray to God; he replied, "I don't know where to find Him!" I explained that God is everywhere: at Gaika's kraal, at Dhlambi's kraal, at Graham's Town, and in the Tronk, even here. "Then," said he, "if God be such a person, why does He allow me so often to be without food?" I replied, "Men are very wicked, and sin against God;

and therefore God takes away their food to punish them, to make them sorry for their sins, and to make them know that He is God." This is only a sketch of the conversation which I had with him, but affords melancholy proof of the need his countrymen have of that Gospel which is a light to lighten the Gentiles. My interpreter on this occasion was a Kaffir who spoke Dutch.

I was now in correspondence with the Governor, through the Landdrost of the District, for the purpose of obtaining permission to establish a Mission in Kaffraria. The Government was at first, however, very much opposed to my project. The non-intercourse policy was deemed the only safe system for preserving the peace of the border: consequently, although a letter which I had written as to the desirableness of establishing fairs or markets within the Colony, under the sanction and surveillance of the Government, to which the Kaffirs might resort for barter and trade, had been well received, and secured for me the respect of the high officials of the Colony, yet it was deemed very undesirable that any Missionary Society should be permitted to commence a Mission in Kaffraria. The Governor was not inclined to allow any attempt of that kind to be made, beyond the establishment which had recently been commenced at Chumie; this Station being a species of combined political and religious Mission, sustained at the cost and charge of the Colonial Treasury, and consequently under the immediate instructions and control of the Government.

The Amaxosa or Border nation was at this period, and till a very recent date, politically divided into two nearly equal parties; the tribes living furthest from

the sea being called by the Colonists the Gaika tribes, and those inhabiting the coast country being designated the Dhlambi tribes,—from the names of the two most powerful Chiefs then living near the Colony. The coast tribes, however, included the tribe of Hintsa, (Amagcaleka), the most powerful of all the Chiefs, who, indeed, was regarded by them as the hereditary paramount Chief of the whole nation.

The Gaika tribes at this period, besides that of the Amangqaika, comprised the Amanbalu under Enno, the Imidanke under Botuman, and the Amantinde under Tshatshu, with some smaller dependent clans. The coast tribes consisted of the Amagcaleka under Hintsa, the Amandhlambi under Dhlambi, and the Amagonakwaybi under Pato, often at this period called the Congo tribe, from a colonial corruption of the name of Pato's father and predecessor Kungwa. To these were also attached a number of petty clans, who were more or less under the control of the respective Chiefs. The whole nation was thus divided into two nearly equal portions; and efforts were made from time to time by Kaffir politicians to preserve "the balance of power." The circumstances of the border, however, together with those ever-recurring causes of irritation and dispute, which, with more complete knowledge of the native African races, we are now aware always existed, had produced very great alienation and strife among them. The coast Kaffirs, living in a separate part of the country, and being placed under an entirely distinct jurisdiction, owing no fealty to the Gaika Chiefs, and having at the head of their confederation the great Chief Hintsa, were impatient of all interference in their affairs by Gaika, from whose tribes

they had latterly been entirely dissociated by the course of political events.

Having made myself as thoroughly acquainted, as the means of information then allowed, with this state of things, my views and plans were greatly influenced thereby, especially regarding the tribes to which I ought to turn my attention, and the part of the Kaffir country where we should endeavour to commence our first Mission. I considered that the early attempts of the London Missionary Society, under Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Williams, succeeded by the Government Mission at Chumie, had, to an extent however limited, presented "a Gospel call" to the Gaika tribes. I therefore resolved to establish a Wesleyan Mission for the coast tribes, among whom, as yet, no Mission had been attempted. By this means we should open up a new field of operations, and leave the Gaika tribes entirely to the further action of the Chumie Missionaries. Subsequently, indeed, we entered into a verbal arrangement with them to the effect that while they would confine their labours chiefly to the Gaika tribes, we would direct our efforts to the spread of Christianity among Kaffirs occupying the coast country. I resolved, "God being my helper," steadily to pursue the openings of Divine Providence in this direction; and, if aided by the Society at home with the requisite means, to use my utmost efforts to establish "a chain of Wesleyan Mission Stations," beginning near the border of the Colony, and extending along the coast country of Kaffraria to Natal and Delagoa Bay. The extent to which this early purpose of my heart was carried out by the blessing of God upon the joint efforts of my excellent colleagues, and the liberal aid we received from the

Society at home, will appear in the sequel of this narrative.

In earnest letters addressed to the Government, I urged that whatever value might be attached to the non-intercourse system, it ought to be relaxed, so far at least as concerned Christian Missionaries; that the Government had nothing to fear from the commencement of a Wesleyan Mission in Kaffraria, since we were already connected with the British settlers on the colonial side of the border, and it might easily be ascertained that we were, both from principle, and by the "special instructions" of our Society, under obligation to act at all times as true, peaceable, and loyal subjects of our Sovereign, while, as Christians, the Government and ourselves were alike bound to communicate the Gospel to the heathen nations beyond our border. I further urged that, should any degree of success attend our efforts, its consequences must prove beneficial and not injurious to the interests of the Colony. At the time this correspondence was going on, I had secured the favourable opinion of Mr. Rivers, the Landdrost or chief civil functionary on the border; and I have reason to know that he reported strongly in favour of my views. Meantime I obtained his consent to cross the frontier, and go on a preparatory visit or tour of observation into the Gaika country; the object being to obtain permission to pass through that Chief's territory to the country occupied by the tribe of Congo or Pato; and also to be able to assure the Government that the establishment of a Mission near the coast would not be seriously opposed by the only acknowledged colonial ally, the Chief Gaika. I also obtained the insertion of the names of my two colleagues at that time in

Albany in the passport, authorizing us all to go beyond the cordon or line of military posts on the border. The following memoranda, made at the time, of the principal circumstances attending this journey, will, I trust, prove interesting to the reader.

“On Tuesday, August 6th, 1822, our party left Fort Willshire for Chumie. I could not avoid a smile, when looking round upon our little company. Persons who travel in Africa need an extraordinary sort of outfit. I and my brethren appeared with trowsers made of sheep skins; jackets we found more convenient than coats; our heads were covered, some with straw hats, and others with caps. One carried a fowling-piece; Tsatzoe, a heavy musket; and we all had haversacks slung over our shoulders, in which we carried our provender, &c. An extra horse bore our heavy great coats, which were needed for night wear. Thus equipped, we rode on our way about eighteen miles, and then arrived at a village, or kraal of Kaffirs, a short distance from our path. Six men ran towards us with their assagays, or spears, in their hands; they begged for buttons, which were given them; and being informed who we were, and what was our design in visiting the country, the Chief asked, why he could not have Missionaries, saying he should be very glad to receive them. We passed several kraals, and saw others at a distance. After dark we arrived safely at Chumie.

“Wednesday, 7th.—I was much pleased with the appearance of the congregation. About one hundred and fifty, chiefly Kaffirs, were present: they sang melodiously a sort of native air, to some expressive words of praise to God, said to be composed by a native Captain; and repeated, as with one voice, answers to the catechetical examination, which was conducted by Mr. Brownlee. Considering the short period that has elapsed since the commencement of this institution, and the peculiar circumstances of the country, much has been effected.

“Thursday, 8th.—Spent an hour in prayer with my brethren and the three Missionaries on the Station, when many fervent petitions were offered to God for the Kaffirs. Human agency was acknowledged before the Lord to be

weakness itself, and the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, to prosper missionary labours among the Kaffirs, was successively solicited in prayer by all the brethren present. We commenced our journey shortly after the prayer-meeting; and in less than an hour arrived at the kraal of Makomo, the eldest son of Gaika, whom, with two of his wives, we met on the road, a short distance from his house. He immediately turned back; and we were soon surrounded by a number of his people. After some conversation respecting an interview with his father, and desiring him to inform the King at what village we intended to sleep, we rode on, and arrived at the place about sunset. We saw a number of kraals, or villages, on the road, as we journeyed. The principal man at this kraal sent off women to the neighbouring kraals, to say that we intended to preach the Gospel at his place, and to invite them to attend. We were allowed to take up our abode in their encircled threshing-floor; and while we were boiling our kettle, a number of Kaffirs assembled around us. We desired them to ask us any questions they thought proper respecting the Gospel, when the following conversation with a Kaffir took place, to which the rest listened with attention.

“Kaffir.”—God requires men to pray all their lives, even to death; now this is too hard. If God would be satisfied with two or three days’ praying, that might be done; but to pray all our lives is too hard.

“Missionary.”—Those who pray sincerely will soon find that it is not a hard work, but a pleasure and delight:—a child finds it very difficult, at first, to attempt walking, but it soon takes great delight in running about.

“Kaffir.”—I am now growing old; I have lived long in the world, without God; therefore, it is of no use for me to change now.

“Missionary.”—You should consider it a mercy, that now, at the latter end of your life, God has sent His word to you: the older you are, the more reason there is for you to change, because you must soon appear before the judgment-bar of God.

“Kaffir.”—But you say God is almighty, and can do all things: why does He not change me at once Himself, without sending Teachers to tell me what I must be?

“*Missionary*.—God is truly almighty; but He uses means to effect what He designs. It is the same with the soul as with the body. He can give us corn from heaven; but He gives none, until the women dig, and plant, and sow; then He sends His rain upon it, and we receive corn and pumpkins, for food. Now it is just so with our souls; God sends Teachers; you must hear and believe them, repent of your sins, and pray to God; and He will change your heart, and save you.

“*Kaffir*.—Why does not God change the devil first? He is very wicked; besides I know that he troubles me, and pushes me on to bad things: why does not God first convert him?

“*Missionary*.—The devil was the first sinner; no person tempted him; and as he sinned without being tempted, God cast him into hell, and there he must remain for ever. God will not have mercy on him; but it pleased God to have pity on man; yea, He loved man so much, that He gave His only-begotten Son to die for us, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.—Here the subject of redemption by Christ was enlarged upon.

“I have transcribed a part of this conversation, to give the reader some idea of the acuteness which these natives occasionally display. The questions were proposed by one Kaffir; the eyes of some of his companions seemed to sparkle with satisfaction, when they thought he had asked a question which would puzzle us. The answers were given by us all three; sometimes one, and then another of us, taking up the subject, and replying to the inquiries of this shrewd man. We more than once had the satisfaction of hearing from Tsatzoe, after interpreting some of our replies, ‘Now he is *stom*,’ (dumb,) by which he meant that his objections were silenced.

“Friday, 9th.—Gaika did not come; we set off for the kraal of which Tsatzoe’s father is the Captain, or Chief, and which is just in the neighbourhood of the place where Gaika was understood to be. We passed a number of villages on the road, and saw several more at a distance. We crossed the finest river I have yet seen in Africa, a most beautiful stream of excellent water; the country over which we have travelled is also very fine. There is clearly an improvement

in the magnitude of the rivers, and the appearance of the country, the further a traveller proceeds to the east from the Colony. We arrived at Captain Tsatzoe's kraal in the afternoon; and found about fifty men assembled, cutting up an ox, which they had just slaughtered, and were about to cook. After a pause of about two minutes, on our presenting ourselves before them, during which time we silently gazed at each other, old Captain Tsatzoe recognised in our interpreter his son; and, on his rising to welcome him, we were presently surrounded by all the people, who eagerly shook hands with us. They gave us about twenty pounds of the beef they were cutting up, as our share. We took up our abode under the enclosure of a plot of ground, intended to be sown with corn. About sunset the heavens gathered blackness, and threatened a storm; a little rain fell at night, which did us no great mischief, but induced us to praise God for the comfort of a large fire, at which to warm our cold feet. We held service after dark; a great number attended, and when they had seated themselves round our fire, we sang a hymn, and delivered, in short sentences, a few simple truths. We find it an advantage to draw them into conversation on religion. They were here, as in all other places, in a dreadful state of ignorance. Indeed, in Kaffirland, if anywhere, gross darkness hath covered the minds of the people.

"Saturday, 10th.—Some people came from a neighbouring kraal with cattle, which they wished to exchange with us for buttons and beads; but they were informed that we came to their country on a more important errand. About nine o'clock, upwards of one hundred were assembled under the hedge where we had slept; we led them to the throne of grace, and gave them instruction in the things of God; but, alas! poor Heathens, without any distinct notion of religion, and without relish for its spiritual nature, many of them manifested much indifference and apathy. We were informed that Gaika had left his place yesterday morning; he had gone by a different road to that on which we came. Tsatzoe told us, it would be wrong for us to proceed further without seeing the King: finding also our horses beginning to fail, we deemed it expedient to desist for the present from going so far as we had originally intended.

We therefore, after morning worship, turned our horses' heads towards Chumie, on which river we fully expected to meet with the King. In returning, I remarked that the inhabitants of a certain kraal, who annoyed us very much when we passed them yesterday, and who all came out to us with their assagays and clubs, which they brandished about in a somewhat terrific manner, behaved themselves in a more agreeable manner, bringing corn, beans, curiosities, &c., for us to purchase, and, with scarcely an exception, they appeared without their weapons. Invariably, wherever we came, when it was understood that we were Missionaries, a degree of confidence in us displayed itself. They know they have nothing to fear from the men who proclaim, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.'

"On our arrival at the residence of Makomo, we were informed that the King was then at his old village on the Chumie River. Being only half an hour's ride distant, we set off immediately, and at last found Gaika, at the village where he has principally resided for several years. He was seated on the ground, surrounded by a number of his *hem-raaden*, or council. He rose to shake hands with us, bade us unsaddle our horses, and then seated himself again, leaning on the breast of a man who sat on his left, and who was ornamented with a chain round his neck, to which was suspended a seal. The King and his counsellors were all armed with the usual weapons. We sat down in front of Gaika, and, by Tatzoe's advice, waited a short time before we put any questions to him. During this time he was engaged in conversation with the Chiefs around him, and I had an opportunity of attentively considering his person. He is a tall, well-proportioned, and good-looking man. He wore round his head a band studded, not with diamonds, but with white and black beads, so disposed as to form the shape of half-diamonds, or triangles. His kaross, or cloak, was of tiger-skin, and it seemed, from its appearance, to have been long a royal garment. Like all his male subjects, he had no other part of dress or covering whatever than this cloak, which was thrown carelessly over his shoulders. As to ornaments, his right fore-arm was almost covered with metal rings, as were the two thumbs

and third fingers of each hand with brass rings, given him at various times by visitors. On one ring, I noticed the word 'Hope' inscribed; I wish I could say that I consider Gaika a hopeful character.

"Our conversation commenced by our informing him who we were, and what was our object in visiting his country; and by telling him withal, that we had taken great pains to find him, as we deemed it improper to travel much in the country without his permission. He said he was very glad to see Missionaries in his country; his people needed instruction; and he was especially pleased that we had come to him, before we had travelled much in the country. We asked if he would now give us leave to travel in his dominions. He in return asked, if we wished to form a missionary establishment in the country; 'because,' said he, 'if you do, I must have an assembly of the Captains and Councils before I can give permission. It is a very important thing; and if I were to give leave without consulting them, they would perhaps be displeased, and trouble you very much.' We informed him, that we were desirous of forming a missionary institution in his country, provided he and his people were willing; that we knew a number of his subjects, and of the Captains, who were desirous of it; and that it only required the sanction of himself and his Council, which if we obtained, we would then immediately request the Governor of the Colony to allow us to come and reside in Kaffirland. As, however, he could not give an answer immediately, we wished to know, whether, in the mean time, he would allow us to travel in the country, to look out for a place where we should like to live. He said he would consult the Chiefs who were now with him, which he afterwards did; but they would determine nothing until the whole Council was assembled.

"One of the King's wives (of whom there are about twelve) brought us boiled Kaffir corn in a kind of basket, which they use instead of earthenware. When cooked in their way, the Kaffir corn is little inferior to rice, especially if milk be added to it. Seeing us use sugar, Gaika requested us to give him some, which he took in his hand and swallowed greedily. They will all eat salt, also, in this way. We made our presents to the King, which consisted

of a few bunches of beads, copper for rings, a pocket-knife, tinder-box, &c., to which he begged the addition of a handkerchief, and I gave him my own, as we had brought none for him. We wished to know when we should receive his answer to our questions. He said he would have a large assembly of his principal men to-morrow, purposely to discuss this important measure. We told him we should come also, and one of us would preach to them, and we hoped to receive a favourable answer to our request. To this he agreed with apparent satisfaction; and we took our departure, intending to spend the night with the Missionaries at the neighbouring institution.

“In riding back to Chumie from Gaika’s place, we were surprised to receive from him a message, sent after us, saying that it would be unnecessary for us to return to his kraal the next day, as proposed by himself; for he should that night leave the place to proceed to his other residence. Thus, so far as we could see, all our attentions to him had failed of producing any real impression in our favour. We had received no answer to our inquiries relative to forming a missionary institution, nor even whether he would give leave for us to travel through his country to see the Chief named Congo, which we very much desired. We were all a good deal chagrined; and as for poor Tsatzoe, he appeared quite angry with the conduct of his King. But why should we be astonished? Gaika is a Heathen.

“Monday, 12th.—Having breakfasted, we were saddling our horses, with the view of proceeding homewards; but a man arrived with a message from Gaika, saying he wished us to go and see him again before we left the country. It was now a question among us, whether we ought to go; but we decided that it would be best to comply with his request. We therefore rode over; and, on our arrival, we were informed by some of the women, that Gaika was asleep. Having waited a considerable time, (during which two of his sons, and a number of Chiefs, all armed, arrived,) the King made his appearance. We shook hands, and he then commenced his discourse by saying that the women had told him he had behaved very ill to us. ‘*They* tell me so,’ said he; ‘so I hope you will forgive me, as I have now made my confession.’ We replied, we had certainly thought that his

conduct in sending such a message on Saturday was very unfriendly; but we were glad he had sent for us again, and we hoped he would not now let us depart without an answer to the question we proposed the last time we saw him. A good deal of conversation then took place respecting Congo, and the Kaffirs under his authority; as we informed him that we wished to live in that part of Kaffirland where Congo is the Chief, which is the coast part. After a considerable time had been taken up in a conversation, in which Gaika displayed great jealousy respecting the influence of the other Chiefs, he gave us his full permission to visit Congo; and, if we found Congo willing, then he thought there would be no difficulty in our way in commencing a Mission. We thanked him, and took leave.

"We should have gone forthwith to Congo, but that we deemed it best to postpone that journey for a time, as it is about eighty miles from Gaika's residence, and our horses were in very bad condition. We conceive, from a variety of circumstances, that Congo will throw no difficulties in our way. Near the kraal of Makomo, we bade farewell to the Missionaries of Chumie, who had treated us in the most friendly and affectionate manner. We pursued our journey home partly by a different route to that by which we entered Kaffirland, and saw a great number of villages on every side of us; and also passed through a considerable number, all full of people. Near the borders we passed about a hundred men, who were hunting, and had spread themselves in a large circle for the purpose of enclosing the game. We slept at night under the branches of a large spreading tree. We are now in a country unoccupied, lying between the inhabited part of the Colony and the Kaffirs. It is much infested by elephants; many trees lay along the road, which these animals had torn up by the roots, and left as tokens of their strength. We kept up our fires, and, through Divine Providence, were annoyed by nothing but the shrill screams of the jackal."

On our return from this journey, I repeated my applications to the Government for leave to establish a Methodist Mission in the coast district in the country of the so-called Congo Kaffirs, under the Chief Pato;

and as the Colonial Government continued to feel itself shackled by its unwise recognition of Gaika as the King, or chief authority over all the border tribes, I was now enabled to report that he had granted his consent, and would not be likely to make such a procedure a cause of complaint. I believe the Rev. Mr. Thomson, the Government Missionary at Chumie, officially reported to the same effect; and my representations were further supported both by the Landdrost and the Commandant of the troops on the frontier. Still the Government hesitated, and took time to consider; meanwhile my ardent colleague, Mr. Threlfall, who would have rejoiced to be employed on this Mission, impatient of the delay, and doubting the final success of my repeated applications, left the frontier, in April, to go to another field of labour. A very short time after his departure, namely, in June, 1823, I received the desired and necessary sanction of the Government. I immediately reported this event to the Missionary Committee, in the following terms:—

“I have received the sanction of Lord Charles Somerset to commence a Wesleyan Mission in Kaffirland. I have every reason to believe our first Station among the Kaffirs will be in that part of the country where I first intended it, namely, with the Chief Congo, whose people inhabit a slip of fine country about sixty miles along the coast, and thirty miles broad, extending from the sea inland. The coast in this part of Africa runs east; thus the western extremity of Congo’s country adjoins the Colony, having for its boundary the Keiskamma, which forms the separation of the Colony and the Kaffir country. The site of our Missionary Station will, probably, be not more than

about one hundred miles from Salem. This vicinity to the Colony, for the first link in that chain which I have always contemplated, will be of great advantage. I commence a tour of about a fortnight among the Kaffirs shortly ; with a view of finally fixing upon the place where to begin the Mission, arranging with the Chiefs, &c."

It will, perhaps, be observed, that in this report I refer to the proposed Station as the "first link in that chain which I have always contemplated." In accordance with the intention announced in this communication, I visited Kaffraria once more, in July and August, 1823, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the Congo Chiefs, and gaining their consent to the commencement of a Mission among their people, and also, with their permission, selecting a site for the contemplated establishment. On this journey, I took as my helper and travelling companion Mr. William Shepstone, whom I must, at this point, more fully introduce to the reader. Mr. Shepstone was one of the British settlers who arrived in South Africa in 1820. He was located in the vicinity of Bathurst, with others, known as the "Bristol party," because they had emigrated from the neighbourhood of that ancient city. On my first visit to the various settlements, I met him and his family while he was yet busy with the erection of his first dwelling. Mr. Shepstone had brought with him his credentials as a member of the Methodist Church, and I soon discovered that he was a man of true piety and sound judgment. Before leaving England he had occasionally, in Sunday Schools and prayer-meetings, endeavoured to speak for Christ ; and I immediately entered his name on my Local Preachers' plan, giving him ap-

pointments to exhort and preach in various places in Albany. In common with many other settlers, when the seasons proved unpropitious, and his location or farm failed to yield him a sufficient support, he turned his attention to other pursuits, and commenced his own business as architect and builder in Bathurst and Graham's Town. The late Rev. Dr. Philip having about this time asked me to recommend some suitable person to him to manage the erection of certain extensive buildings, and other contemplated improvements, at the London Society's Station, called Theopolis, I assured him that if he could succeed in obtaining Mr. Shepstone's services, he would find him a very valuable acquisition to that Mission during the period he might reside there. This engagement was soon afterwards mutually agreed upon; Mr. Shepstone willingly giving up some advantageous openings which were at the time presented to him, that he might render himself useful to that great Mission cause which had stirred the very depths of his soul before he left his native country,—the hope of aiding which in some manner was the leading motive that induced him to leave a happy home and pleasing prospects in England, and emigrate to Southern Africa. He remained some time at Theopolis, giving the highest satisfaction to the resident Missionary, and obtaining considerable acquaintance with the habits and manners of the Hottentots and other natives who then resided at that place; and thus Divine Providence prepared him for future usefulness on an enlarged sphere of action.

As I felt that it would be very undesirable to go alone on this arduous Mission, and as Mr. Shepstone's engagement at Theopolis would shortly come to a close,

I proposed to him, that since there was no junior colleague to accompany me, he should be attached to this new Kaffir Mission, in the capacity of an "Assistant," rendering me all the help in his power in the management of the buildings, and other temporalities of the Mission, which I foresaw would be unavoidably a greater burden than one Missionary could easily carry; while, as a Local Preacher, Mr. Shepstone was, of course, to be employed, as circumstances would allow, in aiding me in the yet higher and more important duty of imparting the knowledge of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the people. Mr. Shepstone accepted my proposals, and the arrangement proved a happy one. He acquitted himself in this double capacity with great fidelity and judgment. After he had been my fellow-labourer for some time, I forwarded an earnest recommendation to the Missionary Committee that he should be recognised as a regular Missionary; and, on the usual examination, this proposal was subsequently backed by the Albany District Meeting.

The British Conference, for various prudential and other reasons, does not ordinarily receive married men with families as probationers on the list of regular Ministers. But this case, and that of Mr. Ayliiff, already referred to, were regarded as exceptional and of a special character, and the Conference therefore waived its standing regulations, and consented in 1827 to receive them on the usual terms into its ministry. The result has abundantly shown that we were not mistaken in the view we took of the character, call, and qualifications of these two brethren. All who read the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and Reports, must have become long familiar with the names of the Rev. Messrs. Shepstone

and Ayliff. Indeed, none of our Missionaries has been honoured of God to render greater services on our extensive field of action than they have done. After greatly aiding our South African Mission for forty years, first as Local Preachers and Assistant Missionaries, and afterwards as fully recognised Ministers, they still survive, and will, I hope, yet be spared to render further valuable service before the Divine Master calls them hence to their great reward.

In the latter end of July, 1823, accompanied by Mr. Shepstone, and Tsatzoe as our interpreter, I proceeded once more through the then uninhabited or neutral country lying between the Colony and Kaffraria; and we reached the Chumie Station in safety, where we were most hospitably received. The Rev. Mr. Thomson volunteered to accompany us through the Kaffir country, as it would afford him the opportunity of reporting to the Government at once on the state of the tribes, and any proceedings with the Congo Chiefs in reference to the contemplated Mission. The distance from Chumie to the residence of the Chiefs was estimated at about eighty miles. There were no carriage roads across this part of the country; but we pursued our way along the narrow paths formed by the feet of the perambulating Kaffirs, and we urged our horses or led them after us through the entangled bushes as best we could. After sleeping at an abandoned kraal on the way, we finally reached the residence of the Chief, Pato.

On our arrival, we were told to unsaddle our horses; and then the spokesman for the occasion asked us the invariable questions put by Kaffirs to strangers on their arrival at a Kaffir kraal. "Who are you? Where do you come from? Where are you going? What do

you seek, or want? What is the news?" These questions are generally asked, even when the querists already possess all the information you are prepared to give on these several points. After this "preliminary examination" had been conducted with that peculiarly stiff manner and assumed air of dignity, which, as we often afterwards experienced, is so characteristic of the native Chiefs on such occasions; all formality was abandoned, and we were received by the Chief and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with evident pleasure and good will. The Chiefs having decided that my proposal to establish a Mission in their country should be referred to an assembly of their petty Chiefs and Amapagati, (Counsellors,) and having dispatched young men as messengers in various directions, to summon them for the next day; we were glad, when the evening closed upon us, and the air was cold, to go into the hut which was assigned for our use during our stay at the Chief's residence.

In no respect does the external appearance of a Kaffir Chief's kraal differ from those occupied by the mass of his people. The only external sign of royalty, or nobility, or whatever the hereditary rank of native Chiefs may be called, which I could ever discover on a Chief's kraal, was a singular sort of ensign, consisting of an elephant's tail, which is hung up on a high pole planted near the entrance of the cattle-fold. I imagine this distinctive article cannot now be always obtained, in which case I presume there are Chiefs' kraals which are not thus distinguished; but during my residence in the country I could always determine whether the owner of the kraal was a Chieftain or not, by the presence or absence of this symbol. No plebeian would ever dare to hoist the tail of the noble elephant, unless

he were prepared to pay very dearly in property or in person, or both, for the perilous assumption of honours that are not due to him by the custom of the country. Pato being the "Umkumkani," or principal Chief of the Amagonakwaybi tribe, had two or three tails suspended on the pole, and we were therefore satisfied as to his hereditary rank; but this did not at all insure that our sleeping accommodations for the night should be superior to what any ordinary Kaffir kraal would have afforded us. We were introduced to the stranger's hut, always the worst on the place. Every wife of the Chief takes care of her own hut, and generally provides many little conveniences for it, and especially takes care that it is kept wind and water-tight; but no woman in particular has any charge of the stranger's hut: hence it is usually in a dilapidated and dirty condition.

The night being cold, we were glad to take possession of the quarters assigned to us, and a fire was soon lighted in the usual place in the centre of the earthen floor of our circular apartment. We had hardly got ourselves seated on the ground, and our saddles and other travelling *et cetera* placed where they would be most convenient, when as many Kaffirs rushed into the hut as crammed the whole remaining space quite full. They squatted on the floor, and each man at once produced his pipe, begged some tobacco from us, and began to smoke away with such terrific energy, that we could only drink our tea and eat our biscuits and other food, for which a day's ride had created rather a sharp appetite, under difficulties. These people kept up a brisk fire of questions, which were addressed to the interpreter, and through him to us. The conversation soon became animated; but the smoke from the fire,

increased by the incessant puffs from the smokers,—the want of fresh air, occasioned by the Kaffirs sitting before the little doorway, and thereby preventing the supply from without of that essential element,—proved rather too much for the endurance of more than one of our party, who were obliged to scramble through the Kaffir group, and get to the outer air as quickly as possible. At length, by telling them that we were weary and required sleep, they were induced to relieve us of their company; and, being really tired, we slept soundly without beds, till the morning light broke forth upon us. Thus, for the information of the curious reader, I have briefly described an “evening party,” and a night’s lodging at the residence of the Chief Pato, on my first introduction to his acquaintance.

On the following day about noon, the petty Chiefs and Counsellors having arrived, we were requested to appear before them. The Chiefs and certain “grave and” venerable “signiors” were all squatted on the ground in two or three groups. I was requested to state the object of my visit to the Chief. Having complied with this request, there followed a number of questions, some trivial, others of serious and weighty import, as bearing on the probable effect of the establishment of a Mission among them, &c. Some of the queries referred to the Chief Gaika, and their political relations with him and the Colony. These questions it was needful to answer truthfully, of course, but cautiously and warily. At length we were told that we might retire, and they would discuss the subject among themselves. The discussion was continued at great length. During this time my mind was a good deal exercised, lest any unfavourable influences should be in

operation, which would, after all, thwart the object of my journey, by inducing the Chief and his brother Kobi, at that time the Ahithophel of the tribe, to refuse their consent to my residence among them. In this state of mind I walked to a quiet spot, embowered with wild shrubbery, and there sat down to read my pocket Testament. I never indulged in bibliomancy, or the evil practice of dipping into the Bible for texts supposed to contain special directions in emergencies. But the first words which caught my eye on opening my Testament, were those which occur in the Epistle to the Romans: "Is He the God of the Jews only? is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also." (Chap. iii. 29.) I cannot describe the confidence and comfort that at this crisis I derived from these words. They seemed to say to me, "Even these wild and untutored men are a portion of the Gentile race; and He is the God of the Gentiles. He will assert His right over them: for 'the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.'"

At length we were requested to appear once more before the Chiefs and Council, when, after a few more questions, we were told that I had their full consent to come and establish a Mission among them; that we might select a site for our future residence wherever we liked, if not too far distant from the Chief's kraal; and that Kobi (Congo) would ride with us round the neighbourhood, to enable us to fix upon such a spot as might suit our views, with reference to wood, water, and available extent of land. When we had finished our survey and fixed upon the place, I was to return to the Colony, and "make haste" to come and take up

my abode among them ; for, said Pato, " we shall strain our eyes in looking out for your arrival."

During this journey we encountered very heavy rains, especially on more than one day, while seeking for a site for the Station, when we were exposed to the " pitiless pelting of the storm," without any hut to screen us, excepting one that was in the process of erection, and which soon became untenable by reason of the torrents of water which streamed in upon us. It was, however, a case of " Hobson's choice," that or none. Nevertheless we were constrained, as some improvement in our lodgings, to set up a few bundles of thatching grass as a screen from the wind, and thus made our bivouac outside.

We arrived safely at home on our return from this tour, during which we had experienced the care of Divine Providence in our preservation while travelling on horseback amidst barbarous and savage men, and wild beasts, which at that period were very numerous on certain parts of our route. With many reasons for thankfulness on the review of our journey, I was, however, above all, grateful to God for the success vouchsafed in our negotiations with the Chiefs. Pato had not only given his sanction to our commencing a Mission in his country ; but he and his brother Chieftains had evinced their sincerity by allowing me to select a beautiful and very suitable place, with extensive grazing lands, near their own residence. The population around it was at that time very considerable, and the prospects presented were of the most pleasing kind, inspiring the hope that however difficult the enterprise, we should, by the blessing of God, obtain " a prosperous entrance " amongst the people occupying this portion of Heathendom.

CHAPTER III.

THE KAFFIR MISSION—ITS COMMENCEMENT.

REMOVAL from Salem—Detention in Graham's Town—Preparations for proceeding to Kaffraria—Kaffir Foray—Remonstrances of Friends—Noble Spirit of my Wife—We leave Graham's Town—Incident at Starting—Parting with our Friends—Altered Circumstances of the Country—Our Route—Military Operations—Uncomfortable Quarters in Rain—Travel on with Difficulty—Arrive at Chumie—Journey through Kaffraria—Road-Making—Reception by Chiefs and their People—Kaffir Council and Palaver—Commence building—Crowds of Idlers—Petty Annoyances—Quiet in the Evening—Kaffir Supper—Barter and Wages—Articles given in Exchange—Kaffirs refused Money—Rapid Accumulation of Property by Work-people—Reasons why Buttons, Beads, &c., were highly valued—Open my Commission to preach the Gospel—First Difficulties—Few had any Idea of Worship—An Incident—Missionaries need Patience—The People gradually become more docile and orderly—Proposal to prevent the Plunder of the Colonists—The Chiefs agree to adopt Measures—Good Result, which endured for Years—Communication from Major Somerset—Visit from the Chief Dushani—The Dhlambi and Congo Chiefs agree to meet the Commandant—They stipulate that I should be present—The great Chief Dhlambi—Our Arrival at the Rendezvous—Scene that Night—Kaffir Butchers—Distribution of Beef—Kaffir Mode of Feeding—My Supper—The Bivouac—My Couch for the Night—Kaffir Spies—Flag of Truce—Consultations—The Kaffirs select a good Position—Troops under the Commandant arrive—The Conference between the Commandant and the Chiefs—Its favourable Termination—Erection of Buildings—Name the Station "Wesleyville"—Reasons for giving European Names to Mission Settlements—Steady Progress—Establish a School—Ragged Schools—Encouraging Symptoms—First Methodist Class-meeting in Kaffraria—Itinerancy among the scattered Hordes—Visit the Colony—Open a direct Road to Graham's Town—Elephants and other wild Animals

—The Chiefs Kama and Kobi (Congo) visit the Colony—Impression made on their Minds—Security of Dwellings from Burglars—Cattle-Lifters—A Kaffir Conflict—Bury the dead and heal the wounded—Sudden Disappearance of Kaffir Patient—Baptism of Hobo—First public Baptism of Converts—Kama and his Wife—Summary of Results at Wesleyville during six Years—Destruction of the Station during Kaffir Wars—This Mission still continues to bear Fruit in other Localities.

• MY visit to the country of Pato having cleared away the last difficulty, nothing was now required but that we should as soon as practicable remove into Kaffraria, and take up our residence near that Chief. Accordingly, on September 10th, 1823, I removed my family from Salem to Graham's Town, preparatory to our departure for Kaffraria. It will not surprise the reader that a happy connexion with the settlers of Salem, which had lasted for nearly four years,—reckoning from my first introduction to them as their Pastor in London, before we migrated to Southern Africa,—could not be dissevered without mutual pain and regret. But I was satisfied as to the path of duty; and the people who were thus to be deprived for a season of the residence of a Minister in the midst of them, believing that it was better they should submit to this temporary disadvantage, rather than the opportunity for establishing a Mission should be lost, kindly acquiesced in the arrangement, and sent us away with many tears, offering, at the same time, many prayers for our safety and success. Thus the little Society at Salem became a mother Church not only to the other Methodist Churches within the Colony, but likewise attained the honour of standing in that relation to many native Churches which have since been formed "in the regions beyond."

We were detained at Graham's Town by imperative family circumstances; meantime, a terrific storm occurred, and continued ten or twelve days, during the month of October, which not only did great damage, but filled all the rivers to overflowing, so that the Great Fish River, at that time the colonial boundary, could not be crossed for several weeks. Our time was, however, fully occupied in making many needful preparations for our arduous undertaking. Two wagons were purchased, each to be drawn by twelve oxen; we also provided the needful outfit of horses and saddlery, bedding, and other articles required in the wagons, which for a time were to form our only sleeping accommodation. Cooking utensils, camp stools, and tables, with a supply of meal, and groceries, which we calculated might last us some months, it was needful to take,—there being no stores or shops in the land whither we were going. The only food which we should be able to purchase from the natives, would be cattle for slaughter, milk, and Kaffir corn, with, possibly, pumpkins, and some other vegetable productions.

At length, all things seemed to be ready; my wife had recovered from her recent accouchement, the wagons were already partially loaded, and our departure was near at hand, when suddenly there was an alarming rumour of a Kaffir inroad. Parties of the natives had, within a few days, carried off many cattle from some frontier farms, and murdered two or more herdsmen; going off with the cattle with such rapidity to their fastnesses in the mountains, that the small body of troops in the neighbourhood had no chance of overtaking them, or recovering the plundered property. This report naturally produced much excitement in the

country ; and some of our kind-hearted friends who had often expostulated with me on the folly of going to live among these native tribes, now resolved to offer a final remonstrance on the subject. They represented to me, that the Mission was as yet too hazardous ; that time and the course of events, bringing the Kaffirs more into intercourse with the English, would be likely to smooth, if not entirely remove, many existing difficulties ; that it was doubtful whether I ought to leave the various congregations which had been gathered in Albany to the care of one Missionary, even for a few months, supposing that the Missionary Committee should send another Missionary within a year, which they regarded as doubtful : and, above all, it was urged that recent events showed the untamed and ferocious character of the Kaffirs, and that nothing could be expected to result from this rash procedure, but that myself, and wife, and children, with all who accompanied us, would be robbed and murdered, since even the Government regarded the Dhlambi and Congo or Coast tribes, as the most audacious of the whole Kaffir nation, they having actually stormed and nearly captured Graham's Town only five years before that time !

I cannot say that these suggestions and remonstrances produced no effect on me. I felt my mind burdened and oppressed with a load of care and anxiety. But happy is the Missionary who has a good and faithful wife, that sympathizes in his objects and aims, and who, in addition to an affectionate heart that affords solace in sorrow, likewise possesses a sound judgment, qualifying her to offer counsel in time of difficulty. Many Missionaries have been so favoured, and can understand my feelings, while I acknowledge how much benefit I

derived from the self-sacrificing spirit and noble bearing of my wife at this trying crisis. When I repeated to her what our friends had urged upon me, and asked what she thought we ought to do ; entering into the whole case with calmness and clearness, she gave utterance to several pertinent remarks, saying in substance, and nearly in the following words, " You have long sought and prayed for this opening ; Divine Providence has now evidently set the door open before us ; expenses have been incurred in the purchase of outfit ; you stand pledged to the Chiefs ; and the character and conduct of the Kaffirs only show how much they need the Gospel. We shall be under Divine protection ;" closing all with these emphatic words, "*Let us go in the name of the Lord.*" With a full heart and streaming eyes, I answered, " That reply has settled the matter, and we will start as soon as I hear that the Great Fish River is likely to be practicable for the wagons to pass." I now felt that I could almost have addressed our kind friends in the words which Paul spake to the disciples at more than one place, when going on a mission which portended danger : " What mean ye to weep and to break my heart ?" " None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." But when our friends heard my final resolve, they " ceased " from further importunity, and said, " The will of the Lord be done."

On the 13th day of November we left Graham's Town, and commenced our journey to Kaffraria. The party consisted of (1.) Myself and Mr. Shepstone. We

rode on horseback. (2.) My wife and Mrs. Shepstone, with their respective children, my wife's youngest being a babe about six weeks old: these were all placed together in one wagon, and were most uncomfortably crowded. The other wagon contained many heavy articles, with spades, pickaxes, and implements of various kinds. (3.) In the second wagon, three or four native women with children, being domestics, or wives of our two wagon-drivers and interpreter. The drivers were Hottentots; and the interpreter was a young Kaffir, who had married a Hottentot wife. Having resided some time at the London Society's Station of Theopolis, he had obtained a very limited acquaintance with the frontier patois, or native Dutch; and it was through him that we hoped to communicate with the Kaffir Chiefs and people, on our arrival and settlement in their country.

At that period, Dundas Bridge, which now spans a deep gully at the lower or northern end of High Street, in Graham's Town, and through which the Kowie stream or river flows, had not been erected; and it was not very easy to cross it with loaded wagons: hence an accident occurred to the *riem chain*, or wheel-lock, of one of the wagons, while running down the rocky bank to the stream, by which two or more spokes of one of the wheels were broken. "A bad omen" said one, "at the very starting; you had better even now give it up and stay with us." Some slight repair was soon completed; and we continued our course, until we had arrived at a spot about six or seven miles from town. At this place it was requisite to *uitspan* or unyoke the oxen, and make preparations to stay during the night; and here about a dozen of our friends, who had

accompanied us on horseback, took an affectionate leave of us ; not, however, till we had all knelt down on the green grass, and two or three of their number had poured forth earnest prayers to the God of heaven, that He would have us in His holy keeping, and give us a safe journey and a prosperous entrance among the Heathen. To many who reside on the frontier and in Kaffraria, it will seem strange that what is at present regarded as an every-day occurrence, and a journey which now excites no more apprehension among the Colonists than a trip from London to Paris usually does in England, should have been regarded as so serious an undertaking. But at the period to which I am referring, (1823,) for Europeans to go with their wives and children among the Dhlambi tribes or coast country Kaffirs, was considered to be an almost certain course to destruction. The amazing difference which time and the changes produced by missionary labour, commercial intercourse, and political events, now present in this respect, is only a part of the manifold evidence which is patent to all men, proving the steady progress and improvement which has taken place in that country.

I cannot more accurately narrate the principal circumstances connected with our removal into Kaffraria, and reception by the Chiefs, than by quoting a few passages from a communication which I wrote at the time, and which, whatever attention it may have arrested at that period by its publication in a missionary periodical, will, I am assured, be entirely new to the great majority of those who are likely to read this volume. It was requisite that we should enter Kaffraria by way of the Chumie, and pass through the country

of Gaika; and, consequently, our journey being very circuitous, we had to travel upwards of one hundred and sixty miles, while the distance by a more direct road, which I afterwards marked out and opened on my first visit to the Colony, was found to be about eighty miles. In travelling to Fort Beaufort, on our way to Chumie, we were also obliged to pursue a route much more circuitous than that which the troops subsequently opened up in a more direct line. Just about the time we started, I learned that a strong commando of troops and Dutch farmers was about to enter the north-western portion of Kaffraria, to make reprisals for the large number of cattle recently stolen by the Kaffirs; and that another military force would simultaneously go on the same errand among the coast Kaffirs. As these operations were to be commenced at opposite ends of the Kaffir frontier, our travelling in the country, while the Kaffirs were under the excitement produced by the entrance of the troops among them, did not seem a favourable conjuncture of affairs. It will be seen that there is some reference to these events in the extract below.

After our friends took leave of us, as narrated above, the night became very rainy. Our canvas tent attached to the wagon, not having been properly made, proved but a poor shelter; and as the water dripped through upon us, we were obliged to spread a large umbrella. My wife and children huddled together for shelter under it, as best they could; and Mrs. Shepstone and her children occupied the wagon; so that at the commencement we did not enjoy any very luxurious accommodation.

“The next day we arrived at Kooster’s Drift, or Ford, over the Great Fish River: all the fords had

been rendered impassable for wagons during several weeks, by the very heavy rains that had fallen: the river was still deep and rapid. There is a perpendicular fall at this place, from the top of the south bank to the water, of between twenty and thirty feet: the river had, however, during the rains, far overflowed its channel. Some soldiers had been at work, cutting a road to the river through the bank; and it was with great difficulty, though promptly aided by them, that we succeeded, after about three hours' toil, in getting both the wagons and everything else safely to the opposite side of the water; but it was very dangerous work. One of our men was nearly drowned; but we had reason to be thankful to God that all ended well. Ours were the first wagons that had crossed that ford since the rains.

"We proceeded on our journey from the Fish River on the 15th, and in the afternoon crossed the Gonappe, which was also done with great difficulty. On the following Monday, the 17th, we crossed the Kat River, and arrived at Fort Beaufort, a new fort, building with a view to check the incursions of the enterprising Kaffirs in that direction. The country around this place is extremely beautiful.

"On Wednesday, the 19th, we proceeded on our journey through an unoccupied and trackless country, until the next morning, when we entered Kaffirland, and arrived at Chumie, the Station of the Government Missionaries. Messrs. Thomson and Bennie and Mrs. Thomson received us in the most friendly manner; and circumstances rendering it necessary for us to remain with them ten days, we received from them such marked hospitality and kindness as leave us much their debtors. Mr. Brownlee had not returned from Cape

Town, but was on his way, accompanied by a Missionary of the Glasgow Society, who on his arrival will, in conjunction with Mr. Bennie, commence a Station, under the direction of that Society.

“A commando had entered the coast part of Kaffirland, while we were on the road, and had proceeded to Pato’s country, to make reprisals for the cattle recently stolen, and which had been traced in that direction. I therefore deemed it proper to send a messenger to Pato, to know if he were still friendly, and still desired us to take up our residence with him. In a few days the messenger returned with Pato’s earnest entreaty, that we would proceed to them immediately : he sent, at the same time, *seven men* to protect and assist us, in our journey through Kaffirland to his residence. Everything being therefore more full of promise than we had anticipated, we commenced our journey from Chumie on the 1st of December, and on the 5th arrived in safety at the place selected for the Station when I was here the last time.

“We had to make a road for the wagons from Chumie to this place, in doing which many a tree fell before the hatchets of the Kaffirs who accompanied us, and who, including several that had followed us from Chumie, amounted to between twenty and thirty in number. The road was intersected by a great number of streams, that run from the mountains in the north into the Keiskamma ; fords over these had to be discovered, rendered passable, &c.,—in all which we found the Kaffirs very useful : the only remuneration they expected or received was presents of beads.

“Although surrounded in many places by multitudes of people, the men sent by Pato were so attentive, that

we lost nothing during the journey; notwithstanding that the Kaffirs, like all other barbarous nations, are notorious for thieving.

“We crossed parts of the districts under the authority of the Chiefs Gaika, Enno, Botman, and Dhlambi, before we entered the district under Pato, which is a long narrow slip along the coast. Gaika and his son Makomo we saw at Chumie; Botman we saw at a place where we unyoked our oxen, near his residence; he would have been very glad to have received us into his district, if we had not been under a promise to Pato.

“We were received on our arrival here by Pato and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with a great number of their people, as though we had been making a triumphal entry: all was bustle; and, as is usual where many wild, untutored people are assembled together, all was noise and clamour; everything about us was wonderful, and excited the greatest astonishment; our wagons, our wives, our children, all were examined with attention, and appeared to make the spectators wonderfully loquacious. Our wagons were drawn up under the shade of one of the beautiful yellow-wood trees that grow along the side of the river: here we outspanned (unyoked) the oxen, pitched our tent, and praised God for having brought us in safety to the place where we would be.

“The next day Pato and his brothers, with a number of their Council and inferior Captains, assembled: a variety of subjects were discussed, connected with my intentions, and purposed mode of procedure, &c.; and all appeared well pleased. They said some flattering things, in the true Indian style, which I should not repeat here, only that it may help to give you an idea

of some parts of their character. Among other things the Chiefs said, From henceforth I should be their *futher*, and they would make of me, as the interpreter rendered it, a '*bescherm bosch*,'—i. e., a bush of defence from wind and rain; meaning, I should be their defence in an evil day. These expressions, beyond doubt, resulted from sincere and honest feelings; but they could not avoid tinging them with the flattery and adulation usually employed when addressing a Chief or Headman."

Having thus established ourselves on the River Twecu, close to the residence of the three brother Chiefs, Pato, Kobi, and Kama, we immediately commenced building operations. Until a house could be erected, we lived under the umbrageous branches of some noble yellow-wood trees growing by the side of the stream; the wagon and its attached tent affording, when it did not rain, tolerable sleeping accommodation at night. We used to perform our very scant toilet in the morning in a sheltered nook of the river. Our wives and the domestics managed the cooking, and we usually ate our meals and performed our daily domestic worship in the open air, often with scores of the natives, especially women and children, looking on with undisguised surprise and amusement. Indeed, from about ten o'clock till a short time before sunset, we were frequently beset by crowds, who remained around us the whole day. Their curiosity at first, and afterwards their pilfering, became so troublesome, that I was obliged to ask the Chief to appoint one of his men as a sort of sentry or police-officer, in order to protect our wives from much annoyance, particularly during the absence of myself and Mr. Shepstone from

the wagons. This was readily granted, and an old umpagate undertook the duty with great good-will. He carried the usual Kaffir *intonga*, or fencing stick; and when boys or men ventured to make themselves, as he considered, too intrusive, a few hard strokes and raps falling on those who were unlucky enough to be at the moment within reach of attack, soon dispersed the crowd. I mention this principally to show that when it was known that the Chiefs had really issued an order, and armed this man (Kalaku) with their authority, no one dared to resist. In fact, his *intonga* was as effective a protection as the staff of a policeman could be in London. But, after all, the crowds of gazers and idlers, who kept up an incessant gabble all day long, and many of whom were intent on seizing any favourable moment for stealing such articles as happened to be unavoidably left lying about on the ground, frequently occasioned much annoyance. Sometimes, indeed, our food was stolen out of the cooking-pots, when the servant's attention happened for a short time to be diverted to some needful occupation. It required patience and temper to endure these petty annoyances, which were especially trying to our wives. But we soon learned to look for the approach of sunset, when we should enjoy some degree of quiet; for we observed that as that time approached, the natives invariably began to leave us, those who had come far going first, until at length, by the time the sun had disappeared, scarcely an individual remained.

These crowds of natives assembled around us daily for several weeks after our arrival in the country. Many came to offer us articles of food for barter. We required a constant supply, as I had regularly to provide for more

than twenty persons, including children and the natives, servants, &c.; and as we speedily hired a number of men to assist us in our building operations, food was likewise required for them. I agreed, however, to pay them wages, and therefore left them to purchase their own food, only supplying them occasionally as the nature of their employment rendered necessary. The reason the natives always dispersed at sunset, we soon discovered to be, that it was then necessary for the men and boys to go to the common fields and look up their cattle, and drive them to their folds for the night, after which followed the process of milking the cows, while the women were also busy in preparing food. The supper, at seven or eight o'clock in the evening, being the principal meal for all Kaffirs, no one likes to be absent from his place in the mess circle at that hour. The men, the women, and the children used to eat in separate groups; but woe to the wight that was missing at supper time! No food would be saved or put away for the use of the late comer, who, when arriving after time, could never hope to make up his loss, but must go supperless to his couch (mat), and learn to be a more careful observer of punctuality for the future.

I have mentioned that we carried on a sort of barter with the Kaffirs for food, and paid wages to the men who assisted in our work. The question will naturally arise in the mind of the reflecting reader, what constituted the medium of barter and of payment of wages among these people in this low state of barbarism. I will endeavour to explain this, and at the same time remove an absurd prejudice which has fastened itself on many ingenuous minds who have never been placed in circumstances favourable to the practical considera-

tion of this subject. It involves, of course, a question of morals. It would be unjust to take anything from natives which is not in their country a fair equivalent for that which they give. I admit this, or rather, I would strenuously contend for it, as a matter of mere justice between man and man. And yet I felt no scruple in dealing with the natives for such articles as we required for our personal use, and giving them in barter beads, buttons, brass wire, cotton handkerchiefs, and pieces of iron; for these were in fact the principal articles which we used in exchange, and in which we paid the wages of our work-people. Many Missionaries in other uncivilized countries have felt obliged to act in a similar manner. We had, indeed, at this time no option in the matter. The natives knew nothing of the value of money. A few of them who had been in the Colony had some very vague idea concerning it; but the Dutch farmers had never accustomed them to the use of it. In fact, at that period, they had very little else but paper rix-dollars themselves. Hence we could purchase nothing from the natives with money. I have more than once, as a mere experiment, knowing, however, pretty well how it was likely to end, offered gold or silver in one hand, and a brass button or two in the other, for the purchase of a "basket" of milk, or other article of food; but the buttons were invariably preferred. Indeed, at that time no real Kaffir residing in that part of the country would have parted with anything that he valued in exchange for money in any form.

The intrinsic worth of the articles necessarily given by us in exchange (like bank notes) was indeed small; but their relative value at the time and for many years afterwards was very great. We paid the daily wages

of a Kaffir in beads, buttons, or brass wire, giving him the choice of these articles on an adjusted scale as to quantity and value. But he felt himself to be liberally rewarded for his labour, because, after providing himself with food, his wages would leave him a surplus by which he could in one month purchase from his countrymen an ox; or in two months he could easily save from his wages sufficient to purchase two or three cows, or three or four young heifers. Indeed, although at this time the cost to us for the labour of a Kaffir,—such as it was,—certainly did not exceed threepence a day, yet we could have had any number of Kaffir labourers, as soon as they discovered that it was a ready road to wealth. Many a native, after continuing some time in our employment, managed, on leaving us, to purchase as many cows and heifers with the proceeds of his labour as placed him in the condition of a Kaffir gentleman; and, as they all possessed a common right to the grass lands for the use of their cattle, he speedily retired from business with what he deemed a competence! Certainly our circulating medium at this time was more convenient than the cowrie shells used by the nations of Western Africa among themselves. The beads, buttons, and brass wire maintained their value in the country for years, because they were required and considered essential as an ornamental part of the dress of the people, more especially that of the females; and no marriage could be celebrated in the country without the interchange of large quantities of these commodities.

While busily occupied in various pursuits connected with the erection of our buildings, in all which I found the assistance and experience of Mr. Shepstone to be

invaluable, I availed myself of frequent opportunities to exercise my great commission as a preacher of the Gospel to this people. Watching favourable opportunities, I used to assemble a group of them, and desire them to sit down on the grass, while I told them the "good news" which I had brought to them. It was at first very difficult to induce them to listen with patience. They were fond of argument and disputation. I was constantly interrupted on these occasions by questions; and often found myself in the position of a person to be catechized, rather than in that of the teacher. Gradually, however, these visitors and strangers began to listen with more attention. On one occasion, while engaged with a party of this kind, I wished to introduce something like an act of worship, in addition to my familiar talk with them concerning the Gospel; but as they had never been accustomed to any kind of religious worship,—for the Kaffirs are not even worshippers of idols,—they did not readily comprehend my intentions. I, however, desired the interpreter to explain that I wished them all "to kneel on the grass as they would see me do. I was about to speak to God, and ask Him to do us good; and, as He is great and holy, we must prostrate ourselves before Him." After some difficulty they all imitated me, and knelt down in a circle; but there was one droll fellow among them who, on looking around and noticing the new and strange attitude which they had assumed, could not restrain his risible faculties; he began to laugh immoderately; a fit of cachinnation spread itself around the circle, and, for the time, worship was rendered impracticable. This sort of difficulty often occurred afterwards in various places, when we itinerated among the people. But let the Missionary

cultivate the grace of patience; for patience and firmness will, in time, by the Divine blessing, remove any obstacle of this kind. The people soon become orderly and attentive; and when individuals who have not been accustomed to worship prove noisy and ill-behaved, they are immediately taken to task, and subdued into quietness by their better instructed or better informed countrymen. I have not unfrequently, at subsequent periods, seen a plebeian Kaffir reprove a Chief for disorderly conduct during public worship. The argument adduced by them in such cases is, that even if they do not believe the Gospel, yet civility and good manners towards the teacher, who does believe, require that he should not be disturbed or affronted while engaged in the worship of God.

A very short time after my arrival in the country, I requested the Chiefs to assemble their petty Captains and principal Counsellors, that I might confer with them on some matters of great importance to their welfare. When they were consequently assembled, I endeavoured in an address of some length to explain to them, that now that they had received a Missionary, it was requisite they should put a stop to all stealing from the Colony; that I had recently received intelligence from the English Commandant that some cattle had been stolen and traced into their country; that unless they would put an end to these marauding expeditions of the people, it would be of little benefit for me to dwell among them; and that peace which they professed to desire with the English could not be maintained. The Chiefs expressed many thanks for the trouble I had taken; and said that it was an evident proof to them that I meant to be their friend; but that it was not easy to restrain so

many thousands of their people. "There were always some men with bad hearts, however good the intentions of the Chief might be," &c., &c. I told them that I was well aware of all that, but I knew the Chiefs had great power; and that, although they could not always prevent bad men from robbing, yet they could afterwards punish them for it when detected. After much discussion, they told me that very strenuous orders would be immediately sent through the tribe; and certain principal men, whose names were given to me, were appointed "watch and ward" of certain drifts or fords along the Keiskamma River, through which any cattle stolen from the Colony must be driven; and that these persons should receive strict orders to capture not only all stolen cattle passing through these fords, but the robbers also, if practicable. I have the best reason to believe that, from this time, and for a series of years afterwards, no robberies were perpetrated by the Amagonakwaybi tribe upon the Colonists. No stolen cattle were traced during all those years among them; nor during that time did a single patrol of military, or party of burghers, come after any cattle into the country of these Chiefs. Occasionally, a batch of stolen cattle were captured from robbers belonging to other tribes, who attempted to bring them through their country; but they were promptly and invariably brought to me, that I might furnish a passport to the Kaffirs whom the Chiefs sent in charge of them to the nearest military post, that they might be restored to their lawful owners.

At a very early period, also, after our settlement with Pato, I received a communication from Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir Henry) Somerset, at that time

Commandant of Kaffraria, stating that the Government was desirous of bringing about a good understanding with the Dhlambi or coast tribes. As already stated, these tribes had for some years been treated by the Colonial Government as enemies, and rebels against their lawful Chief or King, Gaika. But the authorities now began to discover that the policy which had recognised Gaika as the supreme or paramount Chief of Kaffraria was a mistake, fraught with consequences detrimental to the peace and quiet of the border. Major Somerset therefore wished me to induce not only Pato and his brother Chiefs, but through them their powerful neighbours and allied Chieftains of the Amakhakabi tribe, including old Dhlambi himself, with his sons Dushani and Kye, to meet him in a friendly conference. I communicated his message to the Amagomakwaybi Chiefs; and, after some hesitation, they sent messengers to inform the Dhlambi Chiefs. Before the latter would decide on the course to be pursued, Dushani and one or two of his brothers, including Umhala, were sent to see and converse with me on the subject. Dushani expressed great astonishment on finding us in the country with our wives and children. He had scarcely had any previous intercourse with white men. He said, indeed, that he had heard of our arrival; but could not believe that any Englishman would venture to live among them, until he came and saw us actually settled in the country, and without any armed force to protect us. However, he remarked, "It is well that you have come; we want peace; and you must be our mouth to give our words to the white Chiefs." After some discussion, all the principal Chiefs agreed to meet Major Somerset at the place he had

indicated, being one of the fords over the Keiskamma; but they consented only on the condition that I accompanied them, and remained present at the interview. Not wishing to be mixed up with the political arrangements of the country, I strove to avoid this; but it was in vain that I sought to be excused. If I refused to go, then they would not meet the Commandant as requested. As, however, it was highly desirable that the meeting should take place, so that a better understanding might be established between them and the colonial authorities, I at length reluctantly consented, and informed Major Somerset of the circumstances; reminding him, at the same time, that the personal safety of myself and all our missionary party would be jeopardized, if any untoward event, leading to a collision, occurred at the meeting.

At the appointed time, (January, 1824,) I started with the Chiefs from our home, accompanied by parties of their warriors. On the road, a messenger met us, and stated that Dhlambi was afraid of treachery at the interview, and would not trust his person near the troops. He had often been pursued by patrols during the previous wars, and more than once had narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He knew, also, that a price or reward had been offered for his capture. It was soon, however, evident that the messenger was sent to ascertain whether I was really with the Amagonakwaybi Chiefs; hence, very shortly after we reached the spot where we were to bivouac for the night, Dhlambi, Dushani, Umkai, and a large body of their people, made their appearance. After some formal interchanges of messengers and greetings had taken place between the respective Chiefs, and I had shaken hands with old

Dhlambi, for many years past the terror of the frontier, the Chiefs and people divided into distinct parties, to make their preparations for supper and a night's lodging.

I can never forget that night. We were to sleep in a deep glen, surrounded by a very wild and broken tract of country. They selected an extensive bush to serve at once for shelter, and as their garrison for the night. It supplied them with sufficient fire-wood, and water was not very distant. Several oxen which had been brought for the purpose were killed; the butchers and their numerous assistants broiling and eating various parts of the internal viscera of the animals, while engaged in their occupation of skinning and cutting them up. These men were all entirely naked, and seemed wonderfully to enjoy their occupation, and the titbits which they were eating; for, at intervals, they sang and danced after their barbarous fashion, and in a manner anything but agreeable to European notions. At length, the animals being cut up, the beef was distributed to the various Chiefs and vassals. Great care was taken to observe the proper gradations of rank in this distribution. The breast portions of the animals, cut up after their peculiar method, were regarded as the prime parts, and these were reserved specially for the great or principal Chiefs.

I afterwards noticed that the Chiefs were attended by their servants with some form and ceremony. Their cooks broiled their beef on the burning embers with particular care; and, when the steaks were ready, took branches from the bushes, which they intertwined, and thus formed a kind of mat or receptacle on which the meat could be placed. The flesh was cut into long

strips, from three to twelve or more inches in length, and about an inch broad. The attendants likewise produced large milk sacks, which had been brought on pack-oxen; from these they poured the sour and curdled milk into vessels made of rushes or grass platted together, and then placed them at the feet of the principal person in the group. A sort of ladle was provided, made from a calabash or small gourd. The attendant, or master of the milk sack, who enjoys certain privileges, dipping this ladle into the milk, drank a portion of it, to show that there was no poison or dangerous ingredient mixed therein. The Chief then used the same instrument, and partook of the milk, passing it round the circle. In like manner, it was curious to see how they managed to eat without knives, forks, plates, or dishes. The headman of the circle, taking up one of the long slips of flesh described above, and putting part of it with his left hand into his mouth, cut off, with a large javelin which he held in his right hand, as large a morsel as was agreeable to himself, or at least convenient for him to masticate. He then passed the remainder of it to the person next him; who, having performed the same pleasant operation, passed it on in turn to his neighbour, and so on round the circle. It evidently required some tact, and was regarded as a species of polite etiquette in this style of feeding, so to adjust the morsels, as that there might be sufficient for each one in the party to receive a piece. If the headman sees that the strip of beef is too short to go all round, he sometimes sends another piece round the opposite side of the circle.

A bountiful supply of beef from the parts most esteemed was duly forwarded to me by the Chief for

myself and the natives attached to my party. The latter had brought my small tea-kettle, which, being filled with water, and boiled for my use, with some admixture of tea and sugar, and a few biscuits, together with a steak broiled before the wood fire, supplied me with an abundant meal, for which I had a sufficient appetite, having eaten nothing since an early breakfast. Having partaken of my supper, I had time to look round me, and I visited various parts of the bush, which seemed like a large sylvan city. There were between two and three thousand Kaffirs assembled, all well armed with their full complement of spears or javelins, fencing sticks, and knobbed sticks, or clubs. They were distributed into parties of from twenty to fifty men. Each party had its separate fire for warmth and broiling their beef; and the blaze of so many fires, in all parts of the wood, with the naked Kaffirs flitting to and fro, the incessant noise and chatter of most of the people, contrasted with the gravity of some of the Chiefs and counsellors, who sat conferring together, combined to produce a strange scene.

I felt no fear, but I was not sure there was no possibility of danger; for I could not forget that I was the only European present, an unarmed individual, amidst this great gathering of some of the wildest men, including the most notorious robbers, of Kaffraria. When some of the Chiefs came to my fire to have some talk with me as to the best course for them to pursue, I felt it my duty to advise them to take from the thieves and restore to Major Somerset certain cattle which had been recently stolen by a bad set of people, who had for some time detached themselves from their proper tribes, and were living as a sort of lawless banditti on the border of their lands. After

the Kaffirs had finished their suppers, leaving marvellously small remnants of the cattle that had been so recently slaughtered, the noise began to subside; and, having prayed with the few people who were attached to me, I adjusted my saddle for my pillow, rolled myself on my sheep-skin kaross, and, placing myself with my feet towards the fire, I was soon asleep on the rough ground. In truth, notwithstanding the wild character of my companions, I was so wearied, that I slept till sun rise as soundly as I could have done on any curtained bed of down.

Early in the morning, certain spies sent out by the Chiefs returned to our bivouac, and reported that they had seen a colonial force, which had reached the western side of the Keiskamma River, near the ford that the Commandant had appointed (the Line Drift). I observed that these spies were very closely questioned as to what the "commando" consisted of; and from my interpreter I learned the particulars of the report, which I afterwards found to be remarkably accurate as to the proximate numbers of the force, and its relative proportions of troops and burghers. The whole body was mounted, and consisted chiefly of a portion of the Cape Corps Cavalry and a small party of Dutch farmers; the entire force comprising about three or four hundred men. They had encamped during the previous night in a beautiful vale, near the banks of the river. After the Chiefs had held some consultation, they asked me to go with them to the heights, which commanded a view of the camp; and having reached this spot, they very carefully scanned it. I desired them to show themselves on the heights, and we soon noticed that they were observed by the troops below. I now recom-

mended them to send two of their men as messengers to the Commandant, to report that they were arrived according to his request. One of these men was provided with a white rag, obtained from one of my attendants, and this was tied on the top of a stick as a flag of truce: thus equipped, the two emissaries went off quickly down the very long and steep descent, and the Chiefs watched them till they saw they had safely arrived within the camp.

The Chiefs now retired to join the body of their people, and shortly afterwards their messengers returned from the camp accompanied by the Commandant's interpreter, a South African Dutchman, named Bezuidenhout, who was instructed to inform me and them, that the Major would march up the heights before midday, and to request that the Chiefs would meet him on the High Ridge, where he proposed the conference to be held. Much private consultation was held among them as to the principal points which they were to urge in the discussion with the Commandant. It was agreed that they should request to be recognised by the Government as independent Chiefs over their respective tribes, without any interference from Gaika, and that all communications should hereafter be made direct through the Missionary to them, without being sent through him, whom they acknowledged to be a great and powerful Chief, but denied that he had control over their affairs. Dhlambi and Dushani were to urge that they and their people might be permitted to re-occupy the country lying between the Keiskamma and the Buffalo rivers, from which they were driven during the previous war, and which, like the "Neutral Territory" between the Fish River and the Keiskamma, had been left unin-

habited ever since. If these requests were granted, the concession was to be taken as a proof of the good will of the Government, and they would then comply with its wishes as to the restoration of stolen cattle; depredations in the Colony should be severely punished; and Hottentot or other native deserters from the Cape Corps should be delivered up to the colonial authorities.

At the appointed time, Major Somerset and his force rode up the hill. On the first intimation by the scouts that they were in motion, the Chiefs assembled their warriors: they formed in clans under their several petty Chiefs and headmen, and then combined in larger divisions, according to the hereditary branch of the Chief's houses or families to which they respectively belonged. It was curious to see how every man at once recognised his own clan, and how the stronger clans exhibited pride in their relative numbers. At length the whole body, comprising between two and three thousand fine athletic and active men, but forming only a small portion of the force of their respective tribes, moved to the middle of the High Ridge, and took up a position just at a spot where two deep ravines, one on either side of the height, caused the space on the top to be so narrow that their line completely occupied it, having bushy precipices on either flank. As soon as the Major reached a part of the ridge which was within a few hundred yards of their position, he saw at once how skilfully it had been chosen in case of any untoward event leading to a collision. Their flanks could not be turned, and, if they wished, the whole of them could easily escape to the right and left, and in a few moments disappear in the woods. He therefore sent his interpreter with the request that they would move a little higher up the hill,

as he wanted to bring his force further up. But this they resolutely refused to do. Meantime I went to the Commandant, and told him that the Chiefs were all in good temper, and had come in good faith. On receiving this assurance, the Major very fairly proposed, that the interview should be held half-way between the respective forces, now facing each other; the two lines being about three hundred yards apart. This proposal strengthened their confidence, and, after a short delay, the principal Chiefs, with myself and a private interpreter of their own, advanced to meet the Commandant and his principal officers.

There was a lengthened discussion, the particulars of which I need not recite. Suffice it to say, that the Major promised that the several points which they had urged should be conceded, and the Chiefs on their part engaged that certain deserters should be given up, and a considerable number of cattle which had been stolen should be restored. At the request of the Commandant they fixed a time, (three days,) within which period they would capture and restore the cattle. He desired that one of the Chiefs would accompany him to his camp as a hostage, until this was done. None of the Chiefs would volunteer, till at length I persuaded Kobi (Congo) to go. He consented, on condition that I would go and stay with him in the camp. Accordingly, I agreed to do so. We accompanied the force back to their camp, and the Kaffirs broke up and returned home well pleased with the result. On the forenoon of the third day, we saw the promised cattle driven down the hill by a party of Kaffirs, who, on reaching the camp, delivered them over, as directed by Dhlambi and Dushani, to the Commandant; and thus terminated this interview, which

had been managed with very great tact and discretion on the part of Major Somerset. Kobi (Congo) and I returned to our home among the Kaffirs, and we soon found that the result of the meeting had afforded abundant satisfaction. The Dhlambi Chiefs expressed themselves in extravagant terms of delight, that they could now re-occupy the vacant lands, and "sleep in peace," and I was hailed everywhere by the Kaffirs as the friend of Dhlambi and Pato.

I have detailed the circumstances of this Conference between the Commandant of the frontier and the Chiefs at some length, because it introduced a great change in the system of intercourse between the Government and them, and was followed by a period of almost unexampled peace and tranquillity on the lower part of the Kaffir border, which lasted without the slightest interruption for about ten years. And the reader will perceive, that if the narration of this episode has occupied considerable space, it has enabled me at the same time to present a description from actual observation of Kaffir habits when the men are assembled for war, or other purposes, in any considerable bodies. The same system of bivouac, and of feeding themselves when in the field, is adopted by all the tribes of Southern Africa.

In a remarkably short time, we completed a "wattle and daub" house, thatched with rushes, and divided into four rooms, in which both families obtained accommodation, until a second and similar dwelling was erected. We now began to feel ourselves tolerably settled, although we had very few appliances indeed for ministering either to our convenience or comfort. But those who have resided in the open air for a few weeks

will be prepared to regard a dwelling of any kind, however rude and humble, as a great improvement in their position. It was resolved, that the next building should be a school-chapel; but mean time we cleared away the underwood from a spot which was sheltered and shaded by large trees on the bank of the river: and here we established our regular religious services. Several families now came, and requested permission to reside on the Station; and these persons formed the materials of our regular congregation, to which was continually added many strangers, who, from time to time, used to come into the neighbourhood to visit the Chiefs, or for traffic, and other purposes.

As the place was likely to grow into a village, I resolved to give it a name; and what name could rise to my mind as suitable to designate the first Methodist Mission in Kaffraria, but the name of the venerable Wesley? Hence from this period it was called "Wesleyville." As we subsequently gave names to all our regular Mission Stations, I will here assign the reasons why we did so. Some persons have censured Missionaries and Colonists for giving European names to their settlements. It is said we ought to retain the native names, which are represented as being much more euphonious and expressive than the names which are often applied to places by Missionaries and others. In answer to these observations, so far as Kaffraria is concerned, I may state, that in that country there are no towns, and no native names of their kraals or villages. The Kaffirs only give names to their rivers, and the more remarkable ranges and peaks of the mountains in their country. If a particular spot has a name, it will on inquiry be found to be derived from some headman,

who lives, or recently lived there : *e.g.*, Kwangubene, the native name of one of our Mission Stations in Natalia, was retained. Now, Kwangubene simply means, “in or at the place of Ngubu;” a man of some note of that name having formerly lived there. This name happened to be easy to pronounce, and therefore it was accepted as being sufficiently distinctive, since the neighbourhood had, during the last generation, been so called. But while the Kaffirs usually distinguish a tract of land with the name of the nearest river, that name is a common indicator to any spot for many miles near, and on either of its banks, and is therefore far from being definite. The greatest difficulty, however, is, that the names of most of the rivers in the parts of Kaffraria near the Colony are unpronounceable by Europeans, in consequence of the occurrence of clicks and other peculiar sounds in the words. I have met with persons who contended for the importance of retaining the native names of places, and have been much amused to hear them, while arguing in favour of their views, pronouncing these names in such a manner that no native in all the land would recognise them, but would at once suppose them to be some foreign words. The native name of Wesleyville, as given by a Kaffir, would be, when translated, “the Missionary’s place at Twecu,”—Etwecu being the name of the small river tributary to the Tyelomnqa; on which the village was erected. But no European who has not mastered the language would ever pronounce these names properly, and they are far from being unusually difficult. King William’s Town, situate on what the Colonists denominate the Buffalo River, is called by the Kaffirs Eqonce, from the name of the beautiful stream which flows past the town. The name, as used, signifies to be

“at the place on the river Qonce;” the q and the c representing clicks quite unpronounceable by Europeans who have never learned the language. Hence, if Europeans are to read, write, and speak of these Settlements, missionary or otherwise, as a general rule, it is absolutely necessary that they should be designated by some pronounceable name; and what persons have a greater right to give names to villages or towns than those who found or build them?

We steadily pursued the work of our Mission, and before the end of June, 1824, the two wattled cottages for our residence had been completed: other cottages were in progress for the dwellings of our native servants, storehouses, &c.; and at a subsequent period the framework of a larger building was put up; and although a longer delay occurred before we could fix the roof upon it, yet the wattled framework served as a screen from the wind, and we now usually held our worship therein. A regular congregation had been collected, the brother Chiefs, Pato, Kobi, and Kama, with their respective retainers, generally attended Divine service on Sundays; and to some extent, even at this early period, the Heathen began to pay outward reverence to the Lord’s day. They saw that all our works were regularly suspended on that day, and that it was devoted to the duties of public worship; and, under our instruction and advice, many of them began to observe it; and thus was the Christian Sabbath gradually established in this part of the land.

As soon as practicable, I endeavoured to form a School for the children of the natives who lived near us. This was, however, a work of great difficulty; but on Sunday, the 30th of January, 1825, there were

upwards of sixty Kaffir children present at the Sunday School. This was less than fourteen months from the commencement of the Mission; and my journal, in stating the number, adds concerning them, "They are making progress, and behave very well; but I am grieved to see so many children—many of them Chiefs by birth—in a state of nudity. What must be done to raise this degraded race? So much is to be done, that it is difficult to determine at what point, or in what way, to commence the labour of love." Long after this period, benevolent and truly Christian persons in London, and other great cities of Britain, observing the neglected condition of large numbers of poor children in the crowded lanes and courts, established what were called "Ragged Schools," for the amelioration and improvement of their condition, which have been followed by immense benefits: but our Kaffir boys and girls did not possess even "rags" to cover them; a very few had small pieces of calf-skins and skins of other animals thrown over their shoulders, but the vast majority were entirely naked; so that ours might have been called "Nude Schools."

We observed, after a time, several tokens in the congregation of an increasing interest in the truths which were imparted to them in our addresses and sermons; and on one Sabbath forenoon, when discoursing on the Saviour's love, I observed the big tears coursing down the cheeks of two or three men whose countenances were far from prepossessing, and whose previous habits of life scarcely encouraged the hope that the Gospel would subdue them into penitence and prayer. But the grace of God possesses a wondrously transforming influence wherever it is not "received in vain." These

persons and others were followed into secret places and spoken with plainly and pointedly concerning their soul's welfare. At length several of the people being under the influence of the Spirit of grace, I resolved to form them into a Class, and to meet them apart from others, that I might speak with them individually once a week concerning their spiritual state; for whenever a Heathen says in effect to a Missionary, "Sir, I would see Jesus," it behoves him to strive to bring the inquirer to the Saviour, that, believing in Him, he may "obtain forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified." On the 22nd day of March, 1825, I held the first Methodist Class-Meeting in Kaffraria, at which six of the natives were present. My memorandum on the occasion states: "We were exceedingly gratified with the truly earnest manner in which they expressed their desire to save their souls. How pleasing to hear a Kaffir say, 'I am always glad when I hear the bell ring to call us to church! I could not be at rest to live where I could not hear the great word.' A Kaffir woman said that all her sorrow and distress of mind arose from a consciousness that she was a great sinner. Something that was said on that text, 'Ye ought to take the more earnest heed to the things which ye have heard,' &c., appears to have been strongly impressed upon her mind, and she is truly taking 'earnest heed' that Divine truths run not out of her heart. May this form the beginning of good days!" After the Class-Meeting held on the following week, I made this entry in my journal: "It was a pleasing and profitable occasion. We have good reason to hope well of all who were present; but they are very weak in the faith, and very ignorant, and must be

treated with much tenderness and forbearance. We shall consider them on trial for an indefinite period, and when it is deemed expedient they will be baptized."

In this manner we pursued our quiet course of duty, keeping up regular religious services at Wesleyville, and making frequent visits on a regular plan to various Kaffir kraals, which were a few miles distant, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel among them. This led subsequently to a settled system of extensive itinerancy. Twice in each quarter of a year I used to ride to some remote district occupied by the tribe, and remain from home four or five days, holding numerous religious services at the Kaffir kraals, and conversing with the people concerning the things of the kingdom of God. As I used to sleep in their huts during these journeys, I was thereby brought into close contact with all classes of the natives. I found by this means that their confidence in me was constantly increasing, while I was thus also becoming more and more familiar with their social state, and their habits and modes of thought. Of course it was not, in some respects, a very agreeable kind of life. The native huts were without chair, stool, couch, or bed of any kind. The habits of the people, although somewhat ceremonious, were not in accordance with European notions of cleanliness or propriety; and I used to return home weary, hungry, and far from clean and tidy. For, after sleeping for a week in my clothes on the ground or a mat, and being often, by unavoidable contact with the people smeared with the grease and red ochre with which the Kaffirs cover their persons and skin clothing, a bath or complete ablution, with entire change of garments, was rendered indispensable. I am, however, per-

suaded that all Missionaries whose health will allow of it, should pursue this course, and thus frequently mix with the natives in their ordinary and every-day places of abode. Nothing will so certainly, under the Divine blessing, give them personal influence over the people; nor can any other plan but that of an extensive and regular itinerancy around the centre of each Mission Station, awaken an interest in the great objects and aims of a Christian Missionary among the natives living in kraals scattered all over the country.

In the early part of February, 1824, I found it necessary to leave my wife and family at Wesleyville, and visit the Colony, for the purpose of obtaining various needful articles which could not be brought with us, but which were wanted to enable us to carry on our building operations with facility; and supplies of various kinds had also become requisite, as, like all persons unaccustomed to provide prospectively for the consumption of large families for a length of time, we had miscalculated in various essential articles the quantities which would probably be required. On this journey I resolved to cut and open a direct road to Graham's Town. With great difficulty we opened access for the wagon to the Keiskamma, and removed large stones and other obstructions from the ford across the river, so as to render it practicable for wagons. In many parts numerous trees had to be cut down to open our way, and banks were at various points on the line cut through by means of the spades and pickaxes taken with me for the purpose. I took with me certain natives, who were very serviceable in this laborious undertaking. At length we completed a tolerable wagon way across the then uninhabited "neutral"

territory, and struck into a very rugged path which had been formerly cut through the Fish River bush by the Boors and troops during the previous Kaffir war; and, following this route, we crossed the Trompetter's Ford, and proceeded to Graham's Town over the heights of the Governor's Kop. This road through the Fish River bush had, however, not been traversed by wagons for several years; and, besides being originally a very difficult and rocky path, we had much to do in clearing it from various obstructions which had accumulated since the road had ceased to be used. From this time it became the chief line of main road for entering the coast parts of the country.

The whole district, from Wesleyville to within a few miles of Graham's Town, over which we travelled, being uninhabited, we found therein a great variety of wild animals, roaming at large. The spring-bok, bush-bok, hartebeest, and qwagga, were frequently met with in troops and flocks in the grassy country of the neutral territory. Wolves and jackals were numerous; hippopotami, or, as the Colonists call them, "sea-cows," were at that time frequently met with in the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers; but elephants, at this period, literally swarmed in the great bush on both sides of the last-named river. The numerous quiet and sequestered nooks and corners, sheltered by rocky precipices covered with bush, affording large supplies of the kind of trees and herbage which constituted their chief food, rendered this neighbourhood a favourite resort of those huge animals. The African species is much larger than the Indian. I was obliged frequently to traverse this road; and, for several years, I scarcely remember any instance of my passing along this route without falling

in with herds of elephants, roaming through the bush in quest of food. I have seen them in numbers from two or three to more than one hundred. Ten or twenty in a single group were very frequently met with. Occasionally, when travelling on horseback, I have been startled by coming suddenly on a number of these animals, and being brought into very unpleasant proximity with them. When accompanying a wagon, this rarely happened, as the noise occasioned by the loud cracking of the whip used by the wagon-driver generally startled any elephants near at hand, and caused them to stride away in another direction; but the comparatively noiseless travelling on horseback gave no such warning, and it was needful to keep a sharp look out, lest an encounter with one of these monsters, alike undesired on either side, should accidentally occur. On one of my journeys to the Colony, I was accompanied on horseback by my faithful Kaffir servant, Kotongo. On our being about to return, he was very uneasy that we had no gun. The country through which we were to pass being much infested with elephants, and also by banditti of plundering Kaffirs, Kotongo urged the propriety of my borrowing a musket for him to carry. On my saying the Kaffirs knew me to be a *Fundis*, (Teacher,) and why should a Minister carry arms? he said, somewhat sarcastically, That might be; but he was not certain that, if we fell in with any elephants, they would recognise me as a *Fundis*!

On my first visit to the Colony, at the date mentioned above, I took with me the young Kaffir Chief Kama, and two or three of his attendants. It was a great proof of his confidence, that he was willing to go with

me ; and his people consented with reluctance ; but they were ashamed to express their apprehensions, since I was leaving my wife and children among them. No Kaffir Chief had, however, visited the Colony for many years ; and in no instance had a Chief visited it since the arrival of the British settlers. Hence the event created considerable interest on both sides of the frontier. Kama was received by the British in Graham's Town, both civil and military, with great kindness. Many presents of clothing and other articles were given to the Chief by various friends ; and, besides some clothes, the Commandant sent to Kobi, (Congo,) by Kama, a present of a horse. The young Chief attended Divine worship in the English chapels at Graham's Town and Salem ; and he witnessed, on these occasions, the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. At one of these services, although not understanding our language, he had been seized with an apparently irresistible emotion, and shed "floods of tears." After our return to Wesleyville, and on attending public worship a day or two afterwards in our sylvan chapel, when Divine service was concluded, he narrated the various circumstances connected with his visit to the Colony ; speaking in high terms of the kindness and hospitality of the English, and describing the seriousness and solemnity which he had observed in their religious assemblies, showing that they considered God's worship to be a work of great importance. His statements excited no small interest. A visit to the Colony by the Chief Kobi, or Congo, as he was then generally called, two months afterwards, produced equally gratifying results. On being shown the chapel at Graham's Town, at that time the largest and best building he had

ever entered,—the resident Missionary, after explaining the purpose for which it was erected, stating that it was God's house, in which His people worshipped Him, and heard His word preached,—the Chief replied, with his hand upon his mouth, and his eyes fixed on the ground, "I am astonished; and therefore cannot express myself. The place is a wonder to me, and therefore I am dumb!" After he had attended the Sunday services, both in Salem and Graham's Town chapels, the Missionary reminded him of the congregations which he had seen assembled during the day, and endeavoured to impress him with an idea of the importance of the Gospel, which was now sent to him and his people. "Yes," said he, "I now see a great day, great things, and a great people; and I wish we had seen them sooner."

These visits of the Chiefs to the Colony were at once an evidence and an effect of the good understanding and the feeling of mutual confidence which had recently arisen on both sides of the border; and there is no doubt but that the favourable impression made on the minds of the Chiefs, and which they did not fail to communicate to others, had great influence in producing that unusually long period of comparative repose and freedom from war and Kaffir marauding which the British settlers of Albany were now privileged to enjoy during some ten successive years.

At Wesleyville we lived in great peace and safety. For a long time we retired to rest at night without any particular precautions for securing the door or window fastenings. Although the Kaffirs were great pilferers by day, yet we found that burglary was rarely or ever committed. As their huts had no fastenings, their

wattled doors being merely tied with "riems," or slips of bullock hide, and indeed frequently with nothing but green withs, twisted together, it had become a maxim of Kaffir law that "every man's house or hut is his castle;" and for a stranger to intrude into it when the owner was absent, or at night when he was asleep, was regarded as a very high crime and misdemeanour. The culprit was considered to be similar to a prowling wolf, and might be killed when caught in the act; and, at any rate, when convicted of the crime, he was punished by the very heaviest fines. How strangely contradictory are the notions of men regarding morality and relative justice, when not guided by the light of the Divine word! The same men who affected such great indignation at the idea of committing a burglarious act, considered that to enter your cattle or sheep fold during the darkness of the night, and carry off a portion of your live stock from thence, was in no respect disgraceful conduct: only, if you caught and convicted the culprit, he must pay the fine, that is all; but he did not lose his character or standing in social life, in consequence of such dishonest proceedings. Cattle and, subsequently, sheep were frequently stolen from our folds. Our people often pursued the robbers; but, as they generally came from other tribes, we did not allow them to proceed to extremities, lest fighting and bloodshed should result, which often happens when the Kaffirs plunder each other's cattle-folds. However, as soon as an opportunity presented itself, I did not fail to bring a case against a certain robber before the Chief. The proof of his guilt was perfectly complete in the view of the court, and he was heavily fined; the stolen cattle were returned, and I distributed the cattle paid as

penalty among the people of the Station, who at some risk, and with great trouble, had traced out the robbers. For a long time after this we were not nearly so much troubled and annoyed by the cattle-lifting propensities of the people.

During the first year of our residence at Wesleyville, we had a season of alarm for a few days. In consequence of recent events, a neighbouring clan avowed their purpose of attacking Kama and his people; and as some of the latter were daily on our premises, there was reason to fear that we might be mixed up in the quarrel. One day, while Kama and some of his men were lying on the ground and chattering together, near where I was standing, a man shouted the war cry from a neighbouring hill, and instantly the whole party, with many others on the place at the time, seized their weapons, and rushed off at a very high speed. Presently, on the heights opposite the Station, we saw a strong party of the hostile clan approaching with shields, spears, and warlike head-dresses. Kama and his men rapidly obtained from his kraal similar appliances, and set off to meet their enemy. In a very short time they confronted each other. Kama inquired what was the meaning of an armed force like that coming into his country. He was answered by an assagay or javelin, hurled at him by the Chief of the opposite party. Instantly, the whole were engaged. The conflict, however, did not last long. They had no fire-arms, but fought exclusively with their assagays. The attacking party soon found that they had undertaken more than they could accomplish. Kama's people were also rapidly increasing, numbers coming to his help from all sides. The enemy, finding himself likely to be sur-

rounded, scattered and fled into the nearest bush and deep ravines, and thus escaped total destruction ; leaving, however, three men killed on the spot. A considerable number were wounded also on both sides. As soon as we could obtain our horses, I and Mr. Shepstone rode to the scene of conflict, hoping to be useful, if not in preventing bloodshed, at least in assisting any who might need our help ; but every wounded man who could possibly crawl away, or who could be removed by the aid of his comrades, had already disappeared ; and after a careful search amidst the long grass, we only found one man alive, who was very dangerously wounded in the abdomen, from whence his bowels were protruding. After giving him some water, we directed our people, who had followed us, to assist in burying the three men who were killed. With much reluctance they complied, protesting that their bodies ought to be left to the wild beasts ! The wounded man we set on a horse, and, supporting him thereon, with great difficulty removed him to our residence.

Every attention was paid to his case that common humanity dictated, or our circumstances allowed. Mr. Shepstone was most assiduous in his care of this poor fellow. He attended to his wants, replaced the protruding bowels, and otherwise secured the healing of his dangerous wound, by such operations and bandages as a practical turn for surgery, aided by our medical books, suggested. The man somewhat rapidly recovered under this treatment ; but we had much to do to prevent the people from abusing him, and depriving him of the food which we sent for his daily use. At length, both he and they were made to understand that we had nothing to do with the native quarrels ; but,

when any of them were sick or wounded, we should always strive to do them good, and save their lives, without considering whether they were friends or foes, or making any distinction as to the respective tribes and clans to which they might belong. At the time, some of Kama's people seemed displeased at our care for this man; but the abiding impression made upon the mass of the people by this incident, as we eventually discovered, was, that "the Missionaries are the servants of God, and therefore the friends of all."

At length, when this man seemed to be nearly well, and after he had frequently expressed his thanks for the kindness shown to him, one night he suddenly disappeared, and in the morning was not to be found. Some of our people, however, traced his "spoor," or foot marks, for a considerable distance, till it became evident that he had proceeded directly to his own home in the clan from whence he came. It appeared to us, at the time, strange and ungrateful, that he should not have taken leave in a more becoming manner; but, some time after, we learned that this was one of the singular customs of the country. It is not unusual for a man who has been under the care of a native doctor, and recovers, to make his escape, lest a heavy demand should be made upon him in the shape of cattle for medical fees. No doubt, after all, this poor man thought that we should expect remuneration for the attendance and food supplied to him; and hence he ran off in this singular manner, to avoid being detained, till what he doubtless supposed would be a very heavy claim could be satisfied.

The first decided result of our religious instruction of the natives at Wesleyville appeared about one year

after the commencement of the Mission. Hobo, a native of mixed race,—being a descendant of the famous Gonaqua Hottentot Chief, Ruyter, by a Kaffir wife,—was the victim of severe pulmonary disease, and, coming to us for medicine, he was led to take up his abode on the Station. While afflicted, he received the Gospel testimony, and, on his evidently sincere and earnest profession of faith in Christ, I baptized him with water, in the name of the Holy Trinity, in the hut where he lay sick : shortly after which, he died in great peace, and in joyful hope of a glorious immortality. This event occurred in December, 1824. But the first public baptismal service at Wesleyville was held on the 19th of August, 1825, the centenary of the day on which Wesley was ordained to the office of a Preacher of God's holy word. On this occasion, three of the native converts were baptized in the presence of a large assembly of the people. The event was a source of much encouragement to us ; for we viewed these persons as the first-fruits of a great harvest, which will, in time, be gathered from among the various Kaffir nations. Nor has this hope deceived us. A system of quarterly administration of the baptismal rite has been introduced on all our Stations, and I believe that no quarter of a year has ever passed, since that date, in which some of the adult natives have not been, in this manner, received as fully accredited members of Christ's visible Church, on one or other of our Stations. The aggregate of these quarterly baptisms has been steadily and largely on the increase for some years past.

Amongst the natives whom I baptized at Wesleyville, were the Chief Kama and his wife. The latter is a daughter of the great Chief Gaika, and sister of Makomo,

the noted leader in the late Kaffir wars. Kama and his wife, amidst many temptations and serious difficulties, designedly put in their way by the heathen Chiefs, to seduce them from their steadfastness, are still members of the Church, and regular in their attendance on its ordinances. But I must not pursue the details of our proceedings at Wesleyville any further in this place. Various occurrences will, however, be narrated in subsequent portions of this volume, illustrative of the state and condition of the people, with the progress of our Mission among them. It shall therefore suffice in closing this chapter to say, that religious ordinances were regularly maintained; the number of inquirers and converts steadily increased. The Sabbath was fully recognised by the people at Wesleyville and in all the surrounding neighbourhood. The School was in active operation. The plough had been introduced. A store, placed under the care of Mr. R. Walker, was established, for supplying clothing and useful articles to the natives, in return for the raw produce of the country. A very pretty village had arisen, which consisted, besides our own dwelling and the school-chapel, of a number of cottages erected by the natives, each containing two rooms, forming an immense improvement on the native huts. Many of the people, however, who had not yet accomplished this feat, still dwelt in their huts near the cattle-folds. Some of the converted natives had already died peacefully in the faith of Christ; and a general knowledge of the facts, with some idea of the leading principles, of Christianity, had been communicated to large numbers of Kaffirs who had only been occasional visitors at the Station, or who lived at or near the kraals in the remoter districts where we

preached on our itinerating journeys. Such was the state of things resulting from this Mission during the six years of my residence. Early in the year 1830, I was removed to Graham's Town; and I left to my successor a comfortable and substantial mission-house, a commodious school-chapel, and materials for the completion of a large new chapel, already commenced, and which was now much required for a considerable congregation. There were in the native Church, or Society, about forty accredited members or communicants, and a native population of about three hundred souls, who had voluntarily taken up their residence at Wesleyville, all of whom were under the daily instruction and control of the Missionary.

My successor, the Rev. Samuel Young, carried on my plans most faithfully, and greatly extended the work, till he in turn was succeeded by the Rev. William Shepstone, who was prosecuting a most prosperous course of missionary labour, when all was interrupted, and for a season apparently destroyed, by the sad events of the Kaffir war of 1834. The great influence which the Mission at this period exercised over Pato's tribe, kept them from joining their countrymen in that war; but as they had nearly all removed to the neutral territory by the permission of the Colonial Government, Wesleyville was left much exposed; and the Missionary and people, surrounded by daily dangers and alarms from the hostile Kaffirs, were constrained to abandon the place, which was soon afterwards burned down. An attempt was made to re-establish Wesleyville after peace was restored; but as it was no longer in the centre of Pato's tribe,—which continued to dwell in the neutral territory,—the village never regained its former

importance ; and as it was again burned down during the war of 1848, no further attempt was made to recommence that Station. The lands, however, had been granted by the Chiefs to the Society, and confirmed by the Government ; and certainly they must in all equity be regarded as fairly its property, unless, indeed, the Government, in resuming possession of these lands, grant a reasonable sum as compensation to the Society, which has expended so much money thereon. One of my own children, and other members of the various Mission families, with not a few of the Christianized natives and their families, lie interred in the village burial-ground, waiting the morning of the resurrection.

While, however, Wesleyville as a settlement was destroyed by these Kaffir wars, there had been seed sown which war cannot destroy. The religious results of that Mission may be extensively traced, not only in the early history of the Stations which were subsequently established further up the coast, but also in the lives of the various converts, some of whom are deceased, while a considerable number still survive. The native Christians of the Amagonakwaybi or Pato's tribe are now numerous, and may be met with in various parts of the Colony, but more especially in British Kaffraria, at the residence of the Christianized Chief Kama, and in the neighbourhood of the Station called "Annshaw," which we formed at the special request of the late Sir George Cathcart, on lands granted by him for that purpose, soon after the close of the last Kaffir war.

CHAPTER IV.

KAFFRARIA AND THE KAFFIRS.

EXTENSIVE Mission Field—"Kaffir" not a native Designation—Country not called "Kaffraria" by the Natives—Application of the Term in this Sketch—Extent and Description of the Country—Its Mountains and Rivers—Difficulty of traversing it—Its Forests—Destitution of Ports or Harbours on the Coast—Commerce by Sea—Character of the Soil—Fertility of the Country—Kaffirs physically a fine Race—Superiority in this Respect of the Amaxosa—Costume of the Kaffirs—Ox-hide Cloaks—Scanty Covering—Women's Turbans—Ornamental Flap of Women's Cloaks—Kaffirs unconscious of the unseemly Scantiness of their Dress—Illustrative Anecdote—Kaffir Huts and Kraals—Cattle Folds—An eastern Aspect—Position of the Huts—"Inkunhla"—Each married Woman has a separate Hut—Accommodation for Strangers—Kaffir Hut described—Lack of Furniture—Food of the People—Various Kinds, according to the Season—Flesh Meat—Sour Milk—Unwillingness of a Kaffir to slaughter his Cattle—His Wife responsible for Supplies of Corn and Meal—Mode of spending their Time—Master of the Milk Sack—People congregate wherever there is a Feast of Flesh—Ox-racing—Occupation of the Women—Introduction of the Plough at Wesleyville—An Anecdote—Polygamy—Its Prevalence among Chiefs and others—A dreadful Evil—Native Marriages—Marriage Festivities of Chiefs costly—Concubinage—Legal Standing of Concubines—Cattle Dowry paid for Wives—Its evil Effects—Its legal Results in protecting the Woman—Incestuous Marriages—Custom of "Ukuhlonipa"—Separate Language of the Women—Death among the Kaffirs—Abandonment of the aged and dying—Burial—Mourning Ceremonies—The Hut, or Kraal, a frail Monument for the Dead—Public Mourning for the Death of Dhlambi—Affecting Case of a Widow and her infant Child.

It will now be convenient that I should present to the reader a description of the country and its people.

On various occasions, during the time in which I resided at Wesleyville, I traversed very large portions of it; and in subsequent years my journeys extended over the whole region lying between the Cape Colony and Natal; so that the following sketch will at least be the result of very extensive and long-continued personal observation. The operations of the Wesleyan Mission on the eastern side of Southern Africa have, in the course of years, been carried on from Algoa Bay to Delagoa Bay,—a travelling distance of about one thousand miles along the coast; and they have also extended into various districts as far as about three hundred miles inland. This immense region, comprising about three hundred thousand square miles, is still regarded by the Wesleyan Missionaries on this part of the continent as the wide field of labour assigned to them, wherein, together with their fellow-labourers of other Societies, they are to use their best endeavours, under the Divine blessing, to propagate “the glorious Gospel of the blessed God.” This field includes within its vast range numerous European Colonists, and a large population of native tribes, consisting chiefly of the two races distinguished by the English under the general denominations of Kaffirs and Bechuanas.

It is somewhat remarkable that the term “Kaffir” is not a name used by the natives to designate either themselves or any other tribes in the country. The word is derived from the Arabic, and signifies an infidel or unbeliever. It is, in fact, the epithet which most Mohammedan people in the East would without scruple apply to any European or other Christian. The border Kaffirs know that the white nations apply this name to them, and many of them regard it as a term

of reproach. I have occasionally heard one of them, when pouring out the vial of his wrath upon another, call him a Kaffir, (*Kafili*), as expressing the climax of his scornful feelings towards him. There is every reason to suppose that the early European navigators and traders along the eastern coast of Africa, meeting with the Arab pedlars, and probably bringing Mohammedan interpreters with them from Goa, were told that the black nations along the coast were "Kaffirs,"—by which they meant to describe their character; and as the Europeans knew not what to call the people with whom they met, by an easy transition, they applied the characteristic term as a convenient name for the whole of these nations. The reader will at once comprehend, that as these people do not call themselves Kaffirs, so neither do they call their country Kaffirland or Kaffraria. The whole native population on the coast is separated into several large divisions which may be called "nations." Each of these nations is again subdivided into bodies of people, which may be called "tribes;" and these again into yet smaller divisions, that may be appropriately called "clans." Now every nation, and every tribe of each nation, and every clan of each tribe, has its own distinctive name. Thus the people residing on the border of the Cape Colony call themselves AMAXOSA; but while all who belong to this nation call themselves by the national name, yet every one belongs to some tribe, of which there are several, and when he wishes to distinguish himself as belonging to a particular tribe or clan of the nation, he uses the epithets applicable respectively to them. The entire country occupied by the several nations consequently takes various names, being designated after the name of the

people residing in it: hence the land of the nation nearest the Colony is called by themselves "Emaxosene," *i. e.*, "in or among the Amaxosa," land or country being understood.

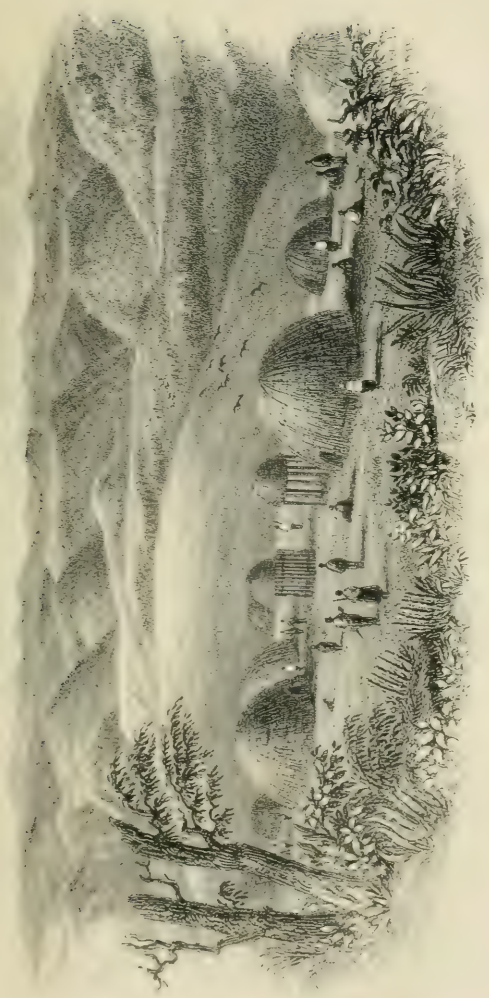
I must, however, in this sketch employ the term "Kaffir" as applying in a generic sense to the whole of the nations living along the line of coast; and in the term "Kaffraria" I include the whole extent of territory occupied by them as far as Delagoa Bay. When I first entered the country, these nations were the sole occupants of the land from the Keiskamma to the last-mentioned bay. But events arising out of the settlement of a small party of English traders, and afterwards of a larger body of Dutch emigrants from the Cape Colony, have led to the establishment at a more recent period of the important and valuable British Colony at Natal, which includes a fertile portion of the ancient Kaffir territory, situated about midway between the Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay, but rather nearer to the latter. The travelling distance from the old boundary of the Cape Colony to Port Natal is about five hundred miles.

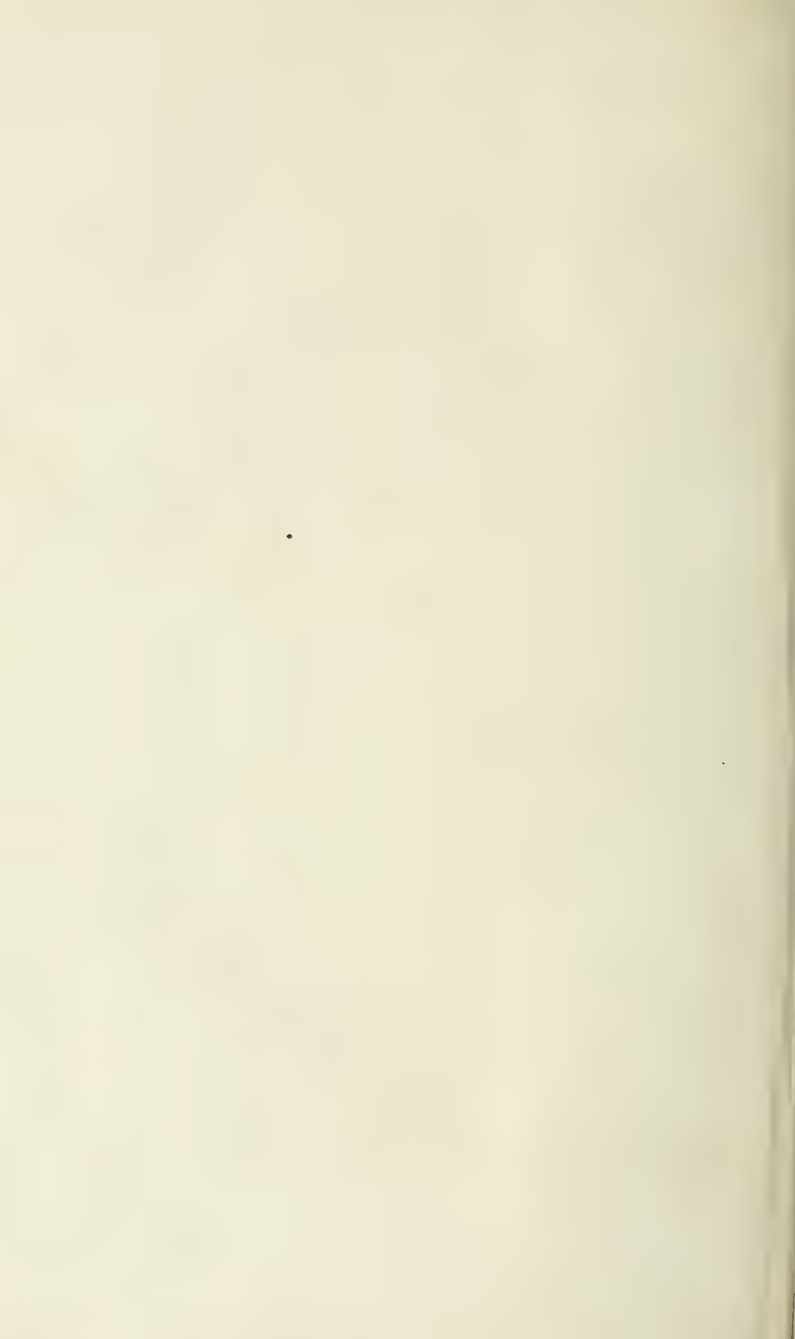
The tract of land between these two Colonies is exceedingly beautiful and fertile. Its average width is about one hundred and fifty miles, extending from the coast; being bounded on the land side by several ranges of high mountains, which, commencing within the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, extend along the greater part of Kaffraria. These mountains are not continuous, but, running nearly east and west, terminate at various points, affording easy access through the openings into the interior districts. The successive ranges, to use a military term, are placed *en échelon* with each other,

and, like a series of great buttresses, they seem to shore up the vast and elevated plains which lie on the north of them. Near the highest sources of the large rivers Umbashe, Umzimvubu, and Umzimkulu, however, the mountain range assumes a loftier and grander aspect, and appears to be continuous as far as the northern boundary of the Natal Colony. This part of the great range of mountains is called by the Kaffirs the "Kwahlamba." It forms the impracticable and almost impassable boundary which has for ages separated the Bechuana nations of the more inland districts, from the Kaffirs of the coast country. The Bechuanas call their side of this grand South African Alps "Moluti;" and the Dutch farmers denominate it the "Witte Bergen," or White Mountains; the higher portions being for several months of the year usually covered with snow. The height of this range must be extremely great,—certainly exceeding that of any other in the extra-tropical regions of Southern Africa; for although it is situated so near the eastern coast, yet it is the source of those large streams, which, flowing southward and westward, at length combine, and, under the name of the "Great" or "Orange River," find their outlet into the Atlantic Ocean, on the western side of the continent. The French Missionaries from the Basutu part of the Bechuana country, who visited the highest portion of these mountains from that side, very appropriately named it the "Mountain of the Sources," from its giving rise to so many of the largest rivers in Southern Africa, some running into the Atlantic, and the others into the Indian Ocean. I once journeyed around the northern base of this highest range, in the depth of winter, when the grandeur of these snow and cloud-

capped hills, lightened up by the sparkling rays of the sun, awakened within me the most profound admiration.

The mountains which thus form the inland boundary of Kaffraria, afford the long narrow tract which intervenes between them and the Indian Ocean an abundant supply of rivers and streams of excellent water. The larger rivers all rise in the highest ranges; but there are also lower or secondary tiers of hills, and high country, which form the sources of innumerable smaller streams, whose waters either find their way as tributaries into the larger rivers, or, as in many instances, flow on in their own channels to the sea. The principal rivers of the country, mentioning them in order as a traveller from the Cape Colony would cross them, are the Keiskamma, the Buffalo, the Kei, the Bashee, Um-tata, Umzimvubu, Umzinkulu, Umkomase, Umgene, Umtakuse, &c. The whole of these are fine mountain streams, some of them of considerable magnitude: their waters do not fail in the driest times, and during rainy seasons they are immensely increased in volume, frequently and largely overflowing their ordinary banks. The coast country of Kaffraria, as far as Natal, is, however, very high and bold as viewed from the sea; and the course of the rivers from their source being comparatively short, they have cut for themselves very deep channels, while seeking their final level in the ocean. Hence their waters usually run far below the general elevation of the country, and the streams can only be approached from the plains by descending to a great depth, which is done by traversing the connecting slopes or ridges from the common level of the country down to the banks of the river. This peculiarity gives to the neighbourhood of most of the rivers a wild and romantic aspect. In numerous places





there are rocky precipices, frequently of many hundred feet in height; and there are also innumerable lateral ravines or gullies, which serve as natural drains to the high lands, carrying their waters into the rivers at various points along their course. This arrangement of hill and dale, or, I might rather say, mountain and valley, while it adds greatly to the grand and romantic appearance of many portions of the country, renders travelling very toilsome and difficult to any one who may be proceeding in a course parallel with the coast, since in this case he must cross all the intervening rivers, with their respective local obstacles, that lie in his way.

In various sheltered parts of the high mountains there are extensive forests, containing trees in great variety and of a very large growth, capable of affording a supply of valuable timber, abundantly sufficient to last for a long time, whenever a growing population, requiring materials for the construction of their dwellings, and other purposes, may occupy the country. The Kaffirs have, however, hitherto made little or no use of these forests. The smaller bush or woods, found in all parts of the country, supply all their wants for fuel, and for implements of war and agriculture. There are also some large and noble forests at various points along the tracts near the sea; but I fear they cannot easily be made available to furnish a valuable export from Kaffraria to the neighbouring Colonies, because this long line of coast is destitute of ports or harbours for ships. Port Natal is regarded as the only exception to this rule along several hundred miles of the iron-bound coast of Kaffraria; and this port, like the mouths of all the rivers flowing into

the ocean, along the south-eastern side of the continent, is very much choked up with sand, requiring great expense and effort to render it available for the safe and convenient access and egress of ships and vessels of any considerable burden. Attempts have been made with some success with small vessels to enter the mouth of the River Umtata, near our Mission Station called "Morley;" and in the year 1848 I saw a vessel, "The British Settler," of about eighty tons' burden, lying in the Umzimvubu River, at a place some ten or twelve miles distant from its mouth or entrance. I understand that this place, which is near our Station "Palmerton," is now frequently visited by small vessels from Natal; and, probably, as time rolls on, the progress of mercantile enterprise, and the discovery of suitable appliances for rendering these rivers available, may cause a great change in this respect. Whenever this takes place, the natural resources of the country, arising from the large quantity and good quality of its timber, and the rich character of its soil, will no doubt be rapidly developed; and this, I trust, will prove of great benefit to the tribes who now occupy these regions.

In so extensive a country as that which I am describing, there are of course great varieties in the soil and in the character of the spontaneous productions of the ground. The land is, however, generally very fertile. A narrow slip, extending along the coast through the whole length of the country, and with an average width of from ten to fifteen miles, generally consists of a dark-coloured soil, easily worked, and very rich in character; but in some parts it requires to be fortified from time to time by manure. This tract is free from the influence of frosts and extreme cold in the

winter, and in numerous sheltered nooks and corners tropical productions, as sugar, coffee, rice, cotton, and the pine-apple, banana, &c., may be grown with tolerable certainty of abundant crops. But it is only near the coast where this could be done. As the land rises towards the interior, the ground is less sheltered, and generally assumes a harder consistency; but it affords extensive tracts well adapted for the growth of Indian corn, Kaffir corn, barley, oats, and rye, pumpkins, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables. From some cause, however, not yet well understood, wheat does not thrive, although some inferior varieties may be grown in the districts near the sea. The country just below the mountain ranges, and therefore furthest from the coast, possesses the advantage of having many places which are easy to irrigate from the mountain streams; and it is consequently very favourably situated for the growth of wheat and all the various fruits and productions of the southern parts of Europe. The best grazing districts, more especially for sheep, are at a distance from the sea: the grass near the coast, being constantly fed by the heavy dews which prevail in that region, becomes long, coarse, and "sour:" however, when it is kept heavily stocked, as I have often seen among the Kaffirs, the cattle bred upon these lands usually thrive and do well. On the whole, it may suffice for the purposes of this brief sketch that I conclude by saying, that Kaffraria is naturally as fine and as highly favoured a country as any under the skies. Those who are well acquainted with this part of the earth will not think that I exaggerate when I say it is "a land flowing with milk and honey." Nay, I am sure that the more extended description of the

earthly Canaan will be found literally applicable in describing the capabilities of this country. It is indeed "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, a land of oil olive and honey,...a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."

The Kaffirs are physically a very fine race of people. The nations nearest to the Cape Colony afford on the whole, however, the most perfect specimens of manhood among all their tribes. I do not hazard this remark without being perfectly familiar with the physique of the Zoolas, and the various nations who formerly lived in and to the northward of Natal. Many thousands of these, under the general denomination of "Fingoes," were driven by the fortune of war, or rather the favour of Providence, within the border of the Eastern Province many years ago; and hence persons residing on that border have possessed extensive opportunities for observation and comparison; and I believe that the opinion is general that the Amaxosa, as a people, are a finer-looking race than any of the other Kaffir nations. Has this arisen from their partial intermixture with various powerful Hottentot tribes, whom in succession they have conquered and absorbed from time to time during the last two or three centuries? Or is this physical development due to some peculiarity of climate in these more southern portions of Kaffraria? Or may it be accounted for by their being less addicted to agriculture, and more decidedly pastoral in their pursuits, than the other tribes, whose lands are better adapted for agricultural purposes, but not so suitable for keeping

cattle and other stock? Or have all these causes combined to produce the result? I will not in this place take upon me to decide these questions, but leave them for the consideration of those who may feel interested in such inquiries. We were of opinion, that the Amaxosa are, as a general rule, of greater stature than Englishmen; but there is reason to believe that the climate stimulates this large growth of the human frame; for it is now become evident that the descendants of the Dutch and British settlers are, on the average, a taller race than their progenitors who came from Europe.

The Kaffir men are in general well made and finely proportioned: many have well-formed heads and pleasing features, such as would be deemed handsome in Europeans. They walk erect, and with a firm step, and, when occasion presents, they show great agility and fleetness of foot. I have known them go over great distances in a rugged country in a surprisingly short time. There is much sprightliness and dash about their young men; but I question whether they possess strength, or power of endurance, equalling that of Englishmen. I have no doubt, that a column of seasoned and practised British infantry, on a long march, continued day by day, and on a fair trial of their respective qualities, would weary them out. The women, when young, generally appear to be quite equal to their countrymen in physical development, only differing in size and those other characteristics which distinguish the sex in all nations. But the beauty and lively appearance of the Kaffir women speedily pass away, under the severe duties and labour assigned to them in the social economy of Kaffir life. The prevailing colour among

the border Kaffirs may be described as similar to that of dark mahogany. There are, nevertheless, great varieties, from a tawny brown to a deep jet black; but a medium between these two extremes is certainly the most common colour among this people: a jet black, however, prevails to a much greater extent among the Fingoe and Zulu Kaffirs. These facts seem to show that the families and tribes who have long lived farthest from the tropical districts gradually change their colour from the deepest black to various shades of a lighter hue, and, consequently, that climate largely influences the complexion of the human race. The hair of the Kaffirs is universally black and curly, and the several tribes have various fantastic methods of dressing it; different fashions prevailing in this respect among the several nations.

When I entered the country, the Kaffirs were all in the habit of wearing a kind of cloak, consisting of an ox or cow's hide, which, when taken from the slaughtered animal, is stretched as much as possible by means of wooden pegs driven into the ground. The hide is thus dried in the sun, and then undergoes a process in which, by continuous manipulations, properly soaking it with melted fat, and the application of powdered charcoal to the skinny side of the hide, this strange garment is rendered ready for use. After it is cut into proper shape,—for there is the pride of fashion even in the mode of cutting an ox-hide cloak,—a Kaffir wears this *ingulu*, or “kaross,” with the hairy side next to his skin, throwing it over his shoulders, from whence it hangs down to his ancles, being fastened in front of the throat by means of a thong. The dimensions of this cloak are large enough to enable him to wrap it entirely

round his person, as any one might do with a small blanket : when the weather is cold, the Kaffir does so ; but in warm weather, if he wears a garment at all, he usually allows his skin cloak to hang loosely from his shoulders, and does not care to wrap it around his body, either with a view to decency or comfort. This proved excessively disagreeable to us ; and by dint of much perseverance we taught all who were in frequent intercourse with us to adjust their *ingubu* or cloak around them whenever they wished to approach us, and especially to enter our dwelling. The females wear a skin under-wrapper round their bodies, and also another which covers their breasts ; but the outer garment or cloak is similar to that worn by the men ; only it is generally made of larger dimensions, so as to form a more complete covering : but they also, like the men, frequently lay aside these outer garments whenever the weather is warm, and the Kaffir women of the border then appear with the under-wrapper alone, which being fastened around the abdomen descends almost to the knees. The men wear no hats or other covering for their heads ; but the full costume of a Kaffir woman requires a species of turban, which is made of the skins of a small and beautiful antelope caught in the woody districts of the country. The upper part rises to the height of ten or twelve inches above the crown of the head, and is ornamented with rows of various coloured beads well arranged and fastened on the skin, so as to produce a pleasing effect. The lower part of this cap is wrapped round with a portion of the skin, in a turban-like manner, the handsome fur being outside, and greatly adding to the effective appearance of this head-dress. The females

also have an appendage to their skin cloaks, called the *isibara*, which is not worn by the men. It consists of a strip of the hide fastened to the neck portion of the cloak, and about as broad as the back of the wearer, extending to the ankles. This is worn with the hairy side outwards, and is studded, according to the wealth, or means, or generosity of the lady's husband, with as many brass buttons, both flat and round, as can be placed in rows thereon, from the top to the bottom; and they are so arranged as to produce a very singular effect.

The utter unconsciousness of the Kaffirs as to the unseemly scantiness of their dress, at the time when our Mission was commenced, may be illustrated by the following anecdote. At an early period after we had settled in the country, I became anxious to see some improvement introduced in this matter, and, thinking if I could induce a certain petty Chief over whom I had acquired some influence to make an innovation, others might soon follow his example, one day I said to him, "I wish you would try to dress yourself." "Dress myself!" he replied, with evident surprise: "Don't you see that I am dressed? Don't you see that I have got a new *ingubu*?" (*kaross*, or cloak.) This was undeniably true. "And do you not see that it is faced with tiger skin?" This was equally true; and his calling my attention to it betrayed his pride of birth, none but Chiefs being permitted to put tiger-skin facings on their cloaks. Any plebeian who presumed to invade such a privilege of the aristocracy of the country, would inevitably be fined for his presumption, —if nothing worse came of it. Thus his pointing me to the tiger skin was a reminder that he was of noble or Chieftain's blood. And he added with much anima-

tion, "Don't you see that I have been well greased and smeared with ochre?" This was likewise evident, and in accordance with what was usual among the best-dressed gentlemen of Kaffraria, who melt a sufficient quantity of tallow or fat, and mix therewith some red ochre, obtained by grinding a certain description of iron-stone to powder: when these ingredients are properly mixed, the unguent is smeared all over the person, and, when done in the most approved style, gives them the appearance of bronze figures. He called my attention, also, to the singular and careful manner in which his hair had been dressed that morning. The curly hair was rolled up in separate knobs, after having been bedaubed with the grease and ochre; and these innumerable small round tufts of hair, each, when folded, being not larger than a good-sized pea, studded all over his head, had a most remarkable appearance, quite in keeping with his bronze-looking body. He continued his remarks by referring to the strings of beads of the fashionable size and colour which were around his neck, and the brass-wire bracelets that covered his fore-arms; and concluded by saying, "I am dressed just as we dress to go to a wedding feast or dance, and you tell me to try and dress myself. I don't understand you!" The Kaffir word employed in this conversation, "*vatisa*," possibly contributed in some degree to the misconception; for, as employed, it was of rather equivocal import, seeing it may mean to ornament one's person as well as to put on clothing, and was probably at that time more frequently used by the Kaffirs in the former than the latter sense; but the dialogue showed that he had little or no conviction of their need of decent and becoming clothing.

The DWELLINGS of the Kaffirs consist of huts, a collection of from five to thirty of which constitute what the Colonists call a kraal, but which the natives denominate *umzi*. The cattle-fold is a circular enclosure made from the trunks and branches of trees, so placed and sometimes intertwined as to make a strong fence, alike for the shelter of the cattle during the cold winds of winter, and to prevent them from breaking out at night during summer, and roaming into their cultivated lands, where they would do much mischief. The enclosure is also designed as an impediment to robbers and cattle-lifters. The kraals are usually formed on ridges, but so as to be sheltered by still higher lands; and they are invariably so placed as to have an eastern aspect. There may have been originally some special reason for this, but the only one assigned to me was, that by this means the cattle obtain the first rays of the rising sun after the night is finished, and that when so placed the cows give more milk at the morning milking-time. The huts are erected on the higher part of the slope, at a convenient distance, say from thirty to fifty yards, from the cattle-fold, the gate or entrance to which is placed on the upper or higher side of the circular enclosure. The residence of the principal wife of the headman or master of the kraal is always that which is on the highest ground, and nearly opposite to the entrance of the cattle-fold. The space between her hut and the gateway is called the *isikunthla*, and is used for various purposes. Sometimes, when the fold is wet and disagreeable for the cattle and their owners, by reason of heavy rains, the cattle stand on it, and the cows are milked there. It is also the area for assemblages of all kinds, and more especially for dancing

parties; while on the kraals of the principal Chiefs this is the usual place where the legal courts are held, and whereon Kaffir law, if not always justice, is dispensed to the various suitors in the open air by the Chief, assisted by his *Amapakati* or Councillors. The huts of the entire *umzi* are placed at regular intervals around the kraal, more or less distant from each other, according to the number of families who reside on the place, and the consequent number of huts required. Every married woman constructs her own hut, and is sole mistress of it. If a man has several wives, each wife has her own dwelling; and there are on every kraal other huts in which the unmarried men and women find separate lodgings. On most kraals there is a hut for strangers or travellers. This is usually placed in the least desirable spot on the kraal, and is almost invariably the worst-constructed hut on the place, and is, withal, generally found to be in a dilapidated condition, because it is not under the care of any woman in particular, but of all the females of the kraal in general. The badly lodged traveller finds that the rule holds good here as elsewhere, "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." Indeed, the Kaffirs possibly think there is no wisdom in making strangers or visitors very comfortable, as it might induce them to prolong their stay, while the usages of hospitality oblige them to supply all such persons with food during their sojourn.

The best Kaffir huts are from fifteen to eighteen feet in diameter. They are circular in form, and from the floor to the highest part of the roof inside they are six or seven feet in height. The walls consist of a great number of slender sticks intertwined and wattled

together. These are continued upright for about four feet from the ground, and then carried over in the manner of an alcove, to form the roof, which, in the largest huts, is supported by two or four strong posts or pillars, hewed in the bush, and brought by the men, and placed, without being stripped of their bark, or otherwise dressed for this purpose. The whole of this wattled building is then covered with successive layers of thatch, generally composed of long grass, and so fastened and disposed as to carry off the rain. A trench is dug on the outside of the upper part of the hut, to prevent the water running on its floor from without in rainy seasons. When completed, the whole structure looks just like a huge bee-hive; and as the bees require their little hole for entrance and departure, so the Kaffir hut has a doorway which is about two and a half to three feet high, and eighteen or twenty inches broad. A stout man or woman can only enter with difficulty, and all who do so must make their entry stooping down on hands or knees, or both. This "strait gate" of entrance may be closed at night by a wicker or matted door. It also does duty for window and chimney, as there is no other opening into a Kaffir dwelling for the admission of light and air, or the escape of smoke from the fire, which is made in the centre of the hut in a circular hearth contrived for it. The place of honour is to be seated on the higher side of the hut, between the two principal pillars and beyond the fire-place, directly facing the door. There is no furniture. No chair, table, or stool, no bedstead or bed, will be found in a regular Kaffir hut, even of the greatest Chief. Painting the wood of the interior would be deemed very superfluous, and indeed is quite unnecessary; for the wattled wood-work and pillars

speedily acquire a jet and shiny black colour, from the smoke and soot arising from the fire. After your eyes have become familiar with the obscure light of the dwelling, which with difficulty comes in through the open doorway, you may discover a large milk-sack and some small baskets of platted grass cunningly constructed to hold liquids; also two or three earthen cooking-pots; of late years superseded by iron pots of various sizes, obtained from English traders. The master's shield and bundle of assagays or javelins will be found near the part of the hut where he usually sleeps, so as to be at hand, should he be disturbed by robbers or wild animals during the night. The earthen floor is constructed with a good deal of care, and is usually very hard: it is kept clean by being regularly smeared with a mixture of fresh cow-dung and water, which preserves the floor from cracking and becoming disagreeably dusty. There is a mat on which you may sleep; and the mode of doing so is to wrap yourself in your kaross or cloak, and lie down on the mat with your feet towards the fire in the centre, and your head near the outer side of the circle, just as soldiers sleep in a bell-tent, only minus the beds and bedding.

Excepting in seasons of great drought and unusual dearth, the Kaffirs possessed an abundant supply of provisions. It was their habit to use various kinds of food, according to the season of the year. From September to March or April, they lived chiefly on milk, and the large supplies of pumpkins, Indian corn, sweet cane (*imfè*), and other green crops, which they raise during these summer months. During this period of the year they rarely slaughtered any of their cattle for food; and, indeed, they seldom tasted flesh

meat, notwithstanding their numerous herds, during the summer season, excepting when there were sacrifices ordered to be offered by the doctors or wise men and women. A part of the animals slain as offerings are always eaten by the people, and sometimes wedding feasts would furnish them with an opportunity of eating flesh. There are also other occasions when custom requires the slaughter of cattle, which may occur in the summer as well as in the opposite season of the year, and which I observed, at that period, they generally hailed with pleasure, with the exception of the individual at whose cost the feast of flesh was to be provided. The Kaffirs seem to understand better than Englishmen who have never been out of their own country can do, that remarkable saying of St. James: "Ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter." Milk and vegetable food is, however, the staple diet of the Kaffirs for the warm season. From about March to September, which in all countries south of the equator includes the cold or winter season, the principal food of the Kaffirs was flesh meat, and corn, and bread or cakes made from meal. The oxen which had fattened during the summer and autumn were slaughtered at the commencement of the winter. The reason assigned for this arrangement was, that about that period the supply of milk begins to be scanty, and the green crops are finished; while the oxen are in fine order for slaughter, and the hair on their hides—which by a remarkable natural provision becomes much longer to protect them during the cold of winter—renders them more suitable for making warm cloaks for day and night covering for the women.

Such, however, is the love of a Kaffir for his cattle that it used to be the occasion of much domestic disquiet, when a stingy husband wished to save his ox by requiring his wife to make her old cloak last a year longer. But in general the wives in Kaffraria, as in other countries, prevail and carry their point, to the entire satisfaction of the other families residing on the kraal and in the neighbourhood, all of whom participate in feasting on the flesh. There used to be a passion at one time for ox-hide cloaks of a particular colour; sometimes black, but very frequently red, oxen were in special request; and the wife was not always satisfied with the animal selected unless it would afford an *ingubu* of the approved or fashionable colour of the season. Thus did these Kaffir females evince their identity of feeling on such subjects with the elegant English ladies that frequent the shops of Regent Street, and who, I am told, will toss aside as worthless any article, however useful, which is not strictly in harmony with the prevailing mode. But let the Kaffir wife take care! Her husband will in turn exact compensation for being obliged to indulge her whims. The other kind of food required for the winter months consists of corn; and woe to the wife who has not diligently cultivated her fields, so as to be enabled to provide corn for *inkobe*, meal for *isidudu*, and occasionally, at least, for *isonka*, or cakes, at this season, for the use of her lord and master. If there is a stoppage of supplies of this kind, it is her liege lord who *now* begins to complain; and he does not fail to reproach her, however ungallantly, with the heavy cost of cattle by which he at first paid her dowry, and the cattle he has been so often obliged to slaughter that he might clothe her.

The Kaffir and Indian corn is usually boiled and eaten with milk like frumenty. When bread is required, the wife takes some corn and grinds it into flour on a large flat stone, with a round stone generally obtained from the bed of a river, and worked by hand until sufficient meal is obtained for the present purpose. Bread is not "the staff of life" in Kaffraria. It is only eaten occasionally, and as a sort of luxury; the corn being principally boiled and consumed in its unground state.

The manner in which the Kaffirs used to spend their time may be easily described. They generally rise early in the morning. The men first survey the cattle-fold, and satisfy themselves that all is right with the cattle. The oxen are then turned out on the common grass lands to graze; the cows are, however, kept in the kraal, or brought up again to be milked when the sun has ascended to some height. The milk obtained is poured into large sacks, made of the skins of animals, and these are then laid aside to ferment. Meantime corn is being boiled, or some other kind of food prepared: the first meal or breakfast is eaten at any time between nine and eleven o'clock, according to the season of the year. The "master of the milk-sack," *ummini wentsaba*, is an important functionary at any Kaffir kraal, but especially at the kraal of a Chief. He alone fills the sack with the milk, declares when it is ready for use, and pours it out, giving to each class of persons the quantity which he deems sufficient for them, or at least which the supply will allow him to mete out. It is a serious misdemeanour for any person to presume to untie the mouth of this sack, and particularly to pour milk from it in the absence of its master.

Indeed, few Kaffirs have the temerity to attempt it; because, if any one were to become sick at the kraal, the doctor, or wise man or woman generally consulted on such occasions, might impeach the delinquent as having introduced bewitching matter, if not poison, into the sack, and the consequences would then become very serious to him.

The morning meal being over, the men devote themselves, rather by way of amusement or occupation than of serious labour, to anything they may wish to do,—forming their knobsticks, resetting the iron heads on their javelin sticks (*isikali*), sharpening them, and also their hatchets, working at and preparing the hides designed for making *ingubu*, or cloaks, repairing their old cloaks, making sandals, or, as the Dutch colonists call them, *veldt schoen*, required for use on journeys; making or repairing their war shields, making wooden pipe-heads and stems for smoking tobacco. These with many similar employments occupy a portion of the time: the rest is generally devoted to visiting their neighbours' kraals, discussing with each other the news of the country, whether political, social, or fiscal. These conversations are often carried on with great vivacity; and when they avoid reference to obscene ideas and practices, they may be listened to with pleasure and sometimes with benefit, at least so far as obtaining a clear insight into their habits and customs is concerned.

Crowds assemble whenever there is any flesh-eating going forward. All are allowed to partake with the people of the kraal, who devote the whole of one or two days to consuming the entire carcass of the animal; very little indeed, if any, being left for use on the third day. Since the Kaffirs obtained horses, the young men extend

their visits by galloping over the country in search of whatever may amuse them. Now and then they get up an ox race, which always occasions great excitement; and it is astonishing to witness the speed with which they can drive these unwieldy animals for several miles on a chosen course on the top of some long ridge of land. To hunt wolves and baboons is also a favourite amusement of the young men, especially when the depredations of these animals have become unusually audacious and annoying. In whatever manner they have been employed throughout the day, the men all return towards evening to be ready to attend to the cattle on their return from the grass lands, which is followed by milking the cows, and the supper, or evening meal; all retiring to rest, unless there is to be some midnight dance, at a very early hour, between eight and ten o'clock, according to the season of the year.

The occupations of the women do not materially differ from those of the men, excepting that they have nearly all the heavy labour to perform. They are hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are also architects and builders, who must bring all the materials to the spot, and therewith construct the dwellings. They usually assist each other in this work; and after the material has been provided, I have known a party of them commence and complete a large Kaffir hut in two or three days. The Amaxosa women used to be the sole cultivators of the soil, which they accomplished by a curious kind of spade made of hard wood, cut and shaped for the purpose by the men of the kraal. To them it belonged to sow the seed, to weed the ground, to protect the growing crops from the attacks of animals and birds; to reap the harvest, and to carry it home in

large bundles on their heads to the threshing-floor, where they used to beat out the grain with sticks; and, when it was properly winnowed, to deposit it in large holes dug by the men in a very peculiar manner under their cattle-folds. These holes served the purpose of granaries, where in general—when the site of the kraal has been well selected, and the construction of this corn receptacle has been properly managed, so as entirely to exclude the air—the grain is kept dry and free from mould or weevil, until required for use. These holes are occasionally opened to take such supplies as are required, and then carefully closed again: allowing for their singular method of accomplishing this feat, I may say that this primitive kind of granary was thus hermetically sealed up again.

When we introduced the plough at Wesleyville, there was no small stir among great numbers of the people, who, although they had heard of such an implement, had never seen it in operation. I well remember the excitement of that forenoon. A piece of land had been cleared of all trees and stumps, and some of our steadiest oxen were yoked to the plough. As soon as it began to get fairly at work, the people looked on with great surprise, and followed up and down the field, uttering all manner of exclamations expressive of their astonishment. At last, one young man ran off to call a neighbouring Chief, who, when he came to look, seemed very much interested: he said nothing, however, for a while, but watched the plough in silence: at length, he could no longer avoid expressing his gratification, but, clapping his hands, and shouting to a man who was standing at some distance on the hill side, overlooking the valley where the plough was at work, he said, "This thing

that the white people have brought into the country is as good as ten wives." Of course he meant that it would do as much work in the same time as any ten women could do; one great object which the Chiefs and wealthy men among the Kaffirs contemplate when multiplying wives, being to secure a sufficient number of women to supply their establishments with corn and other agricultural produce.

The sole check opposed by heathenism to the polygamy of the Kaffirs and other native tribes south of the Zambesi River, is that which arises from the custom of paying dowry for their wives. Hence, only the Chiefs and rich men can afford to indulge their propensity to obtain a plurality of wives, and the extent to which this vice is practised is very much regulated by the relative means of the men. A large number of the people, perhaps the majority of the married men, have not more than one lawful or recognised wife for each man. A considerable number, however, have two wives each, some have three, and the wealthy Amapakati and Chiefs universally have from two to twelve, fifteen, or even twenty wives each, according to their respective ages and means. Very powerful and despotic Chiefs, such as Chaka, and some of his successors among the Zulus, have established enclosed seraglios, strictly guarded from intrusion by any but privileged persons, where scores and sometimes hundreds of women have been kept in a state of complete exclusion from the rest of the people. But these are very rare and exceptional cases among the South African tribes. I need hardly say that polygamy is in this country a bane and a curse, as indeed it must be in all countries where the sin prevails, since it is a violation of God's holy ordinance

on the subject of marriage. Large numbers of the younger men, whose cattle possessions are either *nil*, or very small, are unable to obtain wives; and from this cause, connected with the social circumstances of the country, arises an amount of licentiousness which I must not defile these pages by describing. The intrigues, the heart-burnings, the robberies, the murders, and other repeated acts of violence, which perpetually disturb the peace and retard the progress and welfare of these African nations, cannot be referred to at large; but it would be easy to show that these crimes nearly all arise more or less directly from the extensive violation of God's law, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband."

Marriage is not contracted in general as the result of the mutual affection of the parties most concerned. The proposal often comes from the friends of the young man to the friends of the selected lady; but more frequently, I believe, the friends of the latter make the first movement in the affair. It would occupy too much space were I to detail the mode of proceeding. It is frequently a very tedious process; the negotiations not being conducted with such rapidity as would be likely to satisfy those who happen to be "in haste to marry," at the risk of "repenting at their leisure." Various interests have to be adjusted, particularly if the proposed bridegroom is a Chief, and the young female is regarded as of specially good birth, or as possessing unusual attractions. With the Kaffirs, as in other nations, the marriage ceremonies and festivities are very much modified by the varied circumstances and condition in life of the people. All legal marriages are accompanied by more or less of feasting, dancing, ox

racing, &c. "The number of guests present at these festivities is sometimes very great. At the marriage of Chiefs of high rank, they amount to thousands. On such occasions, the greater portion of the tribe assembles, and all the other Chiefs within one or two days' journey are expected either to attend in person, or send their racing oxen. To neglect to do either would be considered an affront. The bridegroom and his friends provide the slaughtered cattle for the feast; but the guests bring their own milch cows and milk-sacks. From four or five to fifty head of cattle are slaughtered, according to the wealth and rank of the parties."* Many of the poorer people are, however, obliged to

* The above passage is a quotation from a small volume "compiled by direction of Colonel Maclean, C.B., Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria; and printed for the Government at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mount Coke, 1858," pp. 168. It is entitled, "A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs," &c. The volume consists of a reprint of several interesting and well written articles from the pen of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, first published in a monthly religious periodical which issues from our press at Mount Coke; and also of some valuable papers contributed (at the request of the Chief Commissioner) by Messrs. J. C. Warner, J. Brownlie, and J. Ayliff, jun., together with genealogical tables of the Chiefs, and certain "census returns" of the tribes living under British control. The three last-mentioned gentlemen hold important magisterial offices in the country. Mr. Warner was for many years connected with the Wesleyan Mission, and the other two are sons of Missionaries long resident in Kaffraria. They are all perfectly familiar with the Kafir language, which they speak with the facility of natives of the land; and they have been placed in circumstances affording them most favourable opportunities for becoming thoroughly conversant with the social and other customs of the country. Without endorsing every sentiment in this volume, I have much pleasure in testifying to the great accuracy with which it describes the customs of the Kafirs, and states the general principles and practice of the laws by which they have been governed from time immemorial. The volume has not been published in England, and the reader will not desire any

dispense with these costly entertainments. Most Kaffir brides are nevertheless gratified in proportion to the degree of noise and *éclat* that attend their marriage; a grand wedding feast being regarded as some test of the respectability of the connexion.

“Concubinage is also allowed, and amongst the Chiefs exists to a considerable extent. Their concubines (*amashweshwe*) are usually women selected from amongst their own people, who have become objects of attraction to their rulers, but whose parents are not of sufficient consideration to demand on their behalf the more honourable rank of wives. It is, however, by no means uncommon for a Chief to raise a favourite concubine to that rank, after some years’ cohabitation. Amongst the common people, concubines consist of two classes, the voluntary and the bestowed. The former are those who have become such by personal consent and arrangement with the relatives in whose guardianship they are. The latter are such as the Chiefs have authoritatively allotted to the young men of their retinue, who have acquired their special favour during their term of service at the ‘great place,’ and who have, therefore, obtained permission to select female companions from amongst their acquaintance, without incurring the expense of the marriage dowry. As concubines have a legal standing, their children are not considered illegitimate. They rank, however, inferior to the children of the ‘married wives;’ nor can they inherit, except in default of male issue on the part of

apology from me for the few extracts therefrom which will occur in this and the succeeding chapter. The several quotations are carefully marked; and this general acknowledgment will render special reference to the writer of each passage unnecessary.

the latter." The dowry or *ikazi* paid for a wife differs greatly according to the means of the bridegroom and his friends, and other circumstances: from three to ten head of cattle are given by the generality of the people, and from ten to fifty or more by the wealthy and the Chiefs. The father or friends who receive the dowry of cattle, usually return costly presents of beads, brass wire, and other articles esteemed valuable. The custom of paying dowry has evidently descended from the remotest antiquity, since there are traces of it to be found in the patriarchal times, as recorded in the Book of Genesis. It does not, however, accord with European notions; and it must be stated that, as practised among the Kaffirs, this custom exhibits the gross and barbaric character of their minds, and no doubt it tends in some degree to rob the women of their self-respect, and thereby to degrade the general condition of the female portion of the community. "It is but fair, however, that the whole case should be exhibited. The transaction is not a mere purchase. The cattle paid for the bride are divided among her male relations, and are considered by the law to be held in trust for the benefit of herself and children, should she be left a widow. She can accordingly legally demand assistance from any of those who have partaken of her dowry; and the children can apply to them, on the same ground, for something to begin the world with. Nor can the husband ill-treat her with impunity. On experiencing any real grievance, she can claim an asylum with her father again, till her husband has made such an atonement as the case demands. Nor would many European husbands like to be subjected to the usual discipline on such occasions. The offending husband must go in person

to ask for his wife. He is instantly surrounded by the *women* of the place, who cover him at once with reproaches and blows. Their nails and fists may be used with impunity; for it is the day of female vengeance, and the belaboured delinquent is not allowed to resist. He is not permitted to see his wife, but is sent home, with an intimation of what cattle are required from him, which he must send before he can demand his wife again. And this process, should it be necessary, may be repeated over and over again, to be closed in incorrigible cases (should the woman have borne any children) by the father's finally detaining his daughter and her dowry together. So that the husband may at last lose his wife and cattle both."

It is somewhat remarkable, among a people so morally degraded and barbarous, that public opinion and custom should be very strongly against any approach to what they regard as incestuous marriages. "These when contracted are dissolved by the Chief, and a heavy penalty is inflicted on the man. Any relationship which may be traced to whatever degree, is considered as coming within the bounds of consanguinity. To marry two sisters is not considered incestuous, but to marry the descendants of a man's ancestor is considered incest. The fine inflicted is paid to the Chiefs." Out of their singular notions respecting the affinity created by marriage, a very remarkable custom has arisen, which is often very embarrassing; and, in our assemblies for worship, it occasioned great difficulty, until a sort of public sentiment was created on and around our Mission Stations, that the custom did not apply when the people are collected in places of Christian worship. "The custom called *hlonipa*

requires that certain relatives by marriage shall never look on each other's face, nor indeed have any kind of intercourse whatever, more especially a daughter-in-law and all her husband's male relations in the ascending line. She is not allowed to pronounce their names, even mentally; and, whenever the emphatic syllable of either of their names occurs in any other word, she must avoid it, by either substituting an entirely new word, or at least another syllable, in its place. This custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women;" the new words, or modified words which they employ, being known in the general community as "women's words;" and I have often observed that the men did not always understand the terms employed by the women. I have occasionally noticed that for this reason, when a traveller inquired the name of the headman of a kraal, of a woman who happened to be his daughter-in-law, she seemed embarrassed, and at length called to a child, or some other person, to tell the stranger the name of the master of the place.

Desirous as I am of presenting to the reader an outline of the social habits of the Kaffir tribes, there are many customs affecting the females, besides those referred to above, which neither my limited space, nor a due regard to delicacy of feeling, will permit me to describe. In concluding this chapter, however, I will briefly state the customs which are generally observed on the *death* of any of their friends. The Kaffirs have a great repugnance to allow any person not a Chief or other distinguished individual to die in a hut,—probably because it would necessitate the abandonment of the dwelling; or, in case of the decease of the headman, the removal of the entire

kraal. Hence, very frequently, the sick, when supposed to be *in extremis*, are carried out and placed in some hole, or in any opening in the rocks, and there left to their fate. This was almost invariably done with very aged persons. Unnatural sons have been known to take the aged widows of their fathers, and place them in some crag in the woods, while the poor dying creature has been heard to solicit in vain for water to cool the thirst occasioned by fever. When Missionaries, becoming acquainted with these circumstances, have remonstrated against the inhumanity, the defence was always ready, "O, this old person is already as good as dead. Why should we prolong a life which has ceased to be of any use, and of one who can now enjoy no more pleasure?" Very likely the poor dying creature had indulged in similar language on former occasions regarding others. It does not unfrequently happen that persons who had been thus carried into the field, and abandoned in what was supposed to be the approach of death, recover, and return to their kraals. For a long time past, however, this inhuman custom has been declining, and among the border Kaffirs it is now very rarely heard of. "On the death of a respectable Kaffir who has friends, great and loud lamentation and screaming are made by the women; but the men manifest their sorrow by sitting in profound silence. These lamentations do not generally last more than an hour." The grave of a deceased Kaffir is not usually dug very deep, and the friends often take advantage of an abandoned wolf or ant-eater's hole for this purpose, as it saves them trouble. No shell or coffin is provided, but the body is wrapped in the kaross and sleeping-mat of the deceased. When interred, the

corpse is placed in the grave in a sitting posture; and they so arrange the grave as to prevent the earth from falling on the face when it is filled. While the grave is being filled, and when the relatives are departing from it, they often make use of such exclamations as the following: "Look upon us, from the place whither you are gone." "Take care of us." "Cause us to prosper," &c. "In the case of a man, his favourite assagay or javelin is generally placed in the grave with his dead body, as well as his karosses and other articles. After the burial those who assisted in the ceremony, as well as his other relations residing on the kraal, perform certain ablutions, and shave their heads. If it be the headman of the kraal who has died, all belonging to the kraal submit to these ceremonies. If the deceased was a married man, his wives fly to the bush or to the mountains immediately on his death being announced, and there remain for several days, only coming to the kraal after dark, to obtain food and sleep, and then going off again to the mountains with the first dawn of day. Sometimes, however, they remain altogether in the mountains, night as well as day. During the first few days of mourning, they all abstain from the use of milk. A native Priest is then sent for, who offers a sacrifice to the *imishologu*, 'departed spirits,' after which they drink milk as usual. The hut of the deceased, if he had one, is always forsaken; and if he was the owner of the village or kraal, that is forsaken; and the cattle-fold, together with all the huts belonging to the establishment, are allowed to decay and moulder away. The deserted hut or kraal is called the *idhlaka*. It is dedicated to the dead; and for any of the materials thereof to be used

for fuel, or for any other purpose, by his surviving relatives, would be considered as great a crime as witchcraft. During the days of mourning, which seldom extend beyond the period of one month, no cattle belonging to the kraal are allowed to depart. As soon as it can be arranged, new karosses or cloaks are provided for the widows of the deceased, who burn their old ones, smear with fat and red clay, and then the days of their mourning are ended."

The great Chief Dhlambi died in February, 1828. He was probably nearly ninety years old at the time of his decease, and was a perfect specimen of a powerful Kaffir Chief of the olden time, before intercourse with the Colonists, and the teaching of the Missionaries, had produced any effect in modifying the notions and habits of the people. I distinctly remember the public mourning on occasion of his death. Soon after the event was known, I noticed that all the male Kaffirs of his tribe, both small and great, appeared with their hair closely shaven, and destitute of their usual ornaments. A formal report of the death of Dhlambi was sent to the Chiefs, and also to me and the Rev. Samuel Young. The latter, being the resident Missionary at Mount Coke with the old Chief's tribe, very properly visited the "great place," or late residence of the deceased. He found that, according to the custom in such cases, "the hut in which Dhlambi died was closed, never to be inhabited again." A grave was dug, in which he was buried, and a circular enclosure, or cattle-fold, was formed over and around the spot where the grave was situate. In this fold were placed ten oxen, besides a number of milch cows, which stood at nights therein, and thus obliterated all trace of the grave

itself. The impelling motive which prompts this arrangement is rather derived from superstition than veneration. The people live in constant dread of witchcraft; and there is an apprehension that an evil-minded person, by getting possession of some portion of the deceased Chief's corpse, might gain the power of inflicting serious mischief on the tribe. Hence the cattle of the Chief's grave continue for a long time after the burial to occupy the fold prepared for the occasion, and are kept entirely separate from the other herds. I visited the place some months afterwards, and found it still in existence. A watchman of the grave according to usual custom had been appointed. He had sole charge of the cattle, and milked the cows for his support, other food being sent to him for use from time to time. He remained in charge for about a year; and then the cattle were removed to the ordinary cattle-fold, while the watchman was at liberty to return to his own dwelling; but from that time these cattle were considered as "devoted;" and they were not allowed to be killed and eaten, unless, in some time of sickness or calamity, the wise man or Priest consulted directed one of them to be slaughtered as an offering to the *umshologu* of the departed Chief. All the other cattle of the grave remained entirely unused till they died of age; and the grave-watcher ever afterwards continued to be a privileged person, who could claim food anywhere and everywhere in the tribe; and to affront or injure him in any manner would have been punished as severely as if the affront or injury had been offered to the deceased Chief himself. The grave-watcher of Kungwa (Congo), the father of Pato and his brothers, was alive for some years after I went to live at

Wesleyville. He often visited us; and it was singular to see the respect that was paid to him, not only by the people, but also by the Chiefs:—in fact he was humoured and treated like a spoilt child; scarcely did they refuse to meet his wishes in anything. Mr. Young records the following particulars concerning what he saw of the funeral ceremonies on occasion of the death of Dhlambi; and cites an instance of the suffering sometimes occasioned by the mourning customs of the Kaffirs, which is only one of numerous cases which we frequently witnessed in the country. “The morning after my arrival, I was surprised by seeing so many people, both men, women, and children, going in regular order towards the river. Upon asking the reason, I was informed they were all going to wash themselves, after which they could drink milk, which they had not done since the Chief died. All the wives of Dhlambi (ten in number) are now gone into the bush, where they will remain for some time. Their karosses, caps, &c., are buried, and their beads, buttons, and other trinkets are given away; so that when the time has expired for their leaving the bush, they have to get new karosses and ornaments. This custom is also attended to by the common people, an instance of which I witnessed a few weeks ago. When the husband died, his wife with an infant was driven into the large bush near Mount Coke, where she continued five days and nights without food, excepting a few roots which she pulled up, which just kept her alive. When she came out of the bush, she came first to Mount Coke, but could scarcely walk, in consequence of having no food to nourish and strengthen her, and the child suckling at her breast. The weather had been

very cold during the time, in consequence of heavy rains. The child, not having strength to endure such a trial, only lived a day or two afterwards. When the woman came out to our house, she requested me to give her a sheep-skin, to screen her from the inclemency of the weather. When I gave it to her, I exhorted her to begin and seek Him who could 'clothe her with the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' "

CHAPTER V.

THE KAFFIRS—THEIR GOVERNMENT AND SUPERSTITIONS.

FORM of Government—Paramount Chief—Division into Tribes and Nations—Hereditary Rights—Each Man knows his Chief and Clan—Evils of minute Subdivisions—The Theory of Kaffir Government—Powers of the paramount Chief—Sometimes used tyrannically—The Chief Chaka—Checks to this Power—People occasionally desert from their Chief—Chiefs generally powerless for doing Good—The Chief's REVENUE—The LAW—RELIGION and SUPERSTITIONS—Dread of Witchcraft—A Class of PRIESTS—Initiation of the Priests—Baptism, or sprinkling with Water—PROPIITIATORY SACRIFICES—Offered to departed Spirits—Native word for "GOD"—Suggestions of the Bishop of Natal—Specification of the principal *public* Sacrifices—*Domestic* or family Sacrifices—The Sacrifice after a Stroke of Lightning is to the LORD—A feeble Tradition of the ONE GOD—CIRCUMCISION—Singular Ceremonies, connected therewith—Dance of the Youths—Termination of their Novitiate—Concluding Ceremonies—Importance attached to this Rite—RAINMAKERS—Public Discussion with a noted one—Its Result—GOD's RAIN.

THE form of government which has prevailed, from time immemorial, among all the tribes of South-Eastern Africa, may be called patriarchal; but a South African nation is usually formed of a federation of several families and tribes, whose respective chieftains are descended from a common ancestor. The Chief, who is the lineal representative for the time being of the great family, is regarded as the head of the nation, and called Ukumkani, which is equivalent to King, or paramount Chief. To him all the principal Chiefs of the respective tribes, on special

occasions, pay various external marks of respect, as their superior; and to him law cases of special importance or difficulty are submitted for the decision of the aged counsellors under his direction; and it is, moreover, deemed unreasonable for the Chieftains of two tribes of the same nation, when they have a matter of dispute, to go to war with each other thereon, until it has first been submitted for the opinion and decision of the Ukumkani or Great Chief (*Inkosi Inkulu*). This national arrangement is also repeated in the tribal gradations of rank; for each tribe has its separate Ukumkani, who is the principal representative of that branch of the great family of the nation which rules over that particular tribe; and, still further, the subdivision of the tribes into clans is caused by the exercise of authority over a smaller number of vassals by a petty Chief; who is, however, descended from some collateral branch of the family of the great ancestor, or tribal Ukumkani.

This singular system will, perhaps, be made more intelligible to the reader, if I state the general arrangement of the several Kaffir Governments, as it existed when I first entered Kaffraria. I now refer to the country, as it was then occupied, between the border of the Colony, and the Umzinyubu river. The nations were called Amaxosa, Abatembu, Amabaca, and Amampondo. Each of these nations was divided into several large tribes. I give, as a specimen of the rest, the AMAXOSA, or border nation of the Kaffirs. This nation was divided into the following principal tribes,—Amagealeka, Amangqika, Amandhlambi, Imidanki, Amanbalu, and Amagqonakwebi. These tribes were again subdivided into clans. I set down the divisions of the Amagqonakwebi tribe as a specimen of all the others.

The clans of this tribe were the Amachaka, the Amakungwa, the Amapato, &c. The national, tribal, and clannish designations are generally derived from the name of an ancestor, who was the first Chief of note at the time when they respectively branched off, or swarmed from the more ancient hives to which their remote progenitors belonged. The Chief's name, combined with the plural prefix, Ama or Aba, forms each distinctive name. As, for instance, Amaxosa means, people of Xosa; Abatembu, people of Tembu. The people of the respective clans usually live near their petty Chiefs; and the whole of the people of a tribe live within the district of country generally occupied by the families of their own tribe. This occupation of the country is obviously the result not only of family connexions, but is likewise designed for mutual protection.

As a rule, the Chiefs all hold their rank by hereditary right; their particular place in the "peerage" not being, however, always decided by primogeniture; but the ruling Chief in Council, with his principal advisers, usually determines which of his wives shall be the mother of the great house of the clan, tribe, or nation, as the case may be; and inferior positions are then assigned to the descendants of two other of the wives, under the denomination of the "right hand" and the "left hand" of the family, which designations are apparently taken from the relative situations occupied by the huts of these wives respectively on the kraal, as they are on the right or left of the *ibotwe*, or "great house," of the principal wife, and, consequently, the dwelling of the future chief representative of the family. When the tribe assembles for war, or on any public occasion that

brings them together, the several clans group themselves around their respective Chieftains, with the same celerity and certainty as to their proper place in the tribe, as European soldiers display in joining the particular company in the regiment to which they respectively belong, and recognising the Captain by whom it is commanded. Whenever, also, the people visit the Chief's residence, either on business, as messengers from other Chiefs, or to *busa* or serve at his kraal, each man knows to which house of the establishment he must attach himself, according to his clan, and to the *Inkosi-kaze*, or Chief's lady of that house,—or, as they say in Scotland, of “that ilk,”—he must apply for food, and, when needful, for advice and help in the furtherance of his business with the Chief. This is observed, even while the future heir and his brothers may be minors; but as each of the three endowed brothers attains sufficient age and discretion, so that the Amapakate or counsellors concur in his receiving his *ilifa*, or “inheritance,” that is, the cattle, the shields, and especially the war plumes of his ancestor; then he forms a separate establishment, which in its turn will be divided by his successors. It is this system of swarming from the hive, in each generation, that has divided the whole native population of Southern Africa into so many petty nations and states. But it is a great and radical evil in their form of government. It is continually creating new sources of jealousy. It is also an effectual check to any principal Chief obtaining power and control over the whole people of even his own nation or tribe; and it renders the formation of a large nation impossible. The result is, that there is the same insecurity for life and property, as that which our scanty histories of the times before and during the

Heptarchy in England describe as arising from the national and tribal feuds of the native Britons, the Danes, and the Saxons.

In theory the Kaffir Government is a pure despotism. The Ukumkani of the tribe is regarded as sole lord and proprietor of its lands, its people, and their property. Many of the ordinary laws show this. The Chief can assign a place of residence to any of his people within the limits of the tribal territory : and the Ukumkani of a nation, when applied to, sometimes grants a whole district for the Chief and people of a tribe. The cattle of the tribe are, by a sort of fiction of their law, all considered to belong to the Chief. As his mode of securing retainers is by giving them live stock from time to time, it is considered that all the cattle possessed by them have been derived either from those granted by himself, or from such as had been given in previous generations, by his ancestors, to their forefathers. Hence the punishment for great crimes is what they expressly call, "eating up:" that is, the Chief deprives the unfortunate culprit of the whole of his property ; which it is considered, in such a case, he has a right to do ; since, in carrying off the cattle and other property of the offender, he is only resuming his own. For crimes not deemed so serious, the Chief merely inflicts a penalty of a limited number of cattle : these all belong to him as the proper owner, but he usually assigns a part of them to the plaintiff, as compensation,—keeping, however, the lion's share for himself, from which he again distributes to those who have acted as Sheriffs' officers in the case, to the counsellors who advised in its adjustment, and, lastly, to such of his people as he may think fit, with the view of securing their attachment to his person and govern-

ment. The people also, as well as their cattle, are regarded as belonging to the principal Chief: hence he possesses the power of inflicting with his own hand, or directing the infliction of, the penalty of death, on whomsoever he will, and with or without formal trial. Any remonstrance would probably be replied to by the inquiry, "May not a Chief do what he will with his dog?" But, on the other hand, every death occurring in the tribe must be reported to the Chief. If the deceased has been murdered,—a crime atoned for in Kaffraria by the payment of cattle,—he receives the whole as compensation for the loss of one of his people. In all ordinary cases, when a man dies, an ox must be sent to the Chief, as the *isizi*, or "mourning offering," to condole with him on this bereavement. Sometimes, also, the Chief asserts his property in the people, by the arbitrary distribution of young maidens among the young men or others in his tribe, as wives or concubines.

Such is the theory and practice of the government under which all the South African tribes and nations live; and whenever a Chief of great force of character arises who wages successful war, conquering many tribes around him, his name soon produces fear, and in proportion to the terror which he inspires he tyrannizes over the people, showing them by indescribable acts of the most despotic cruelty that when circumstances favour it, his powers are not merely theoretic but indisputably substantial. Indeed, he may exercise his arbitrary authority to any extent that his caprice or ferocity may impel him. The case of Chaka, who was Chief of the Zulu nation when I first entered the country, is an illustration of this. It would only excite disgust and shame

for our common humanity, were I to state in this place the atrocities committed by this despot when in the zenith of his power. It has been truly said of Chaka, that "in war he was an insatiable and exterminating savage, in peace an unrelenting and ferocious despot, who kept his subjects in awe by his monstrous executions, and who was unrestrained in his bloody designs, because his people were ignorant, and knew not that they had power. He was also a base dissembler; he could smile in the midst of the execution of his atrocious decrees, and stand unmoved while he witnessed the spilling of the blood of his innocent subjects; and as if nothing like an act of barbarity had been committed, he would appear mild, placid, generous, and courteous to all, assuming the expression of deep sorrow for the necessity which had called him to issue his bloody decree. The world has heard of monsters,—Rome had her Nero, the Huns their Attila, and Syracuse her Dionysius; the East has likewise produced her tyrants, but for ferocity Chaka has exceeded them all. He has outstripped in sanguinary executions all who have gone before him." Whatever some persons may think of colonizing Southern Africa, humanity itself must rejoice that by the extension of the British Colonies, and their growing influence among the native tribes, the re-appearance of such a crushing despotism as this is rendered impossible in all time to come.

The savage government of Chaka has been repeated in a somewhat mitigated degree by other Zulu Chiefs, as in the case of Dingani, his successor, and more especially in that of Umzilikazi, called Moselikatsi by the Bechuanas, to whose country he fled with his followers from the dreaded treachery of his more powerful relative.

This Chief carried devastation among the Bechuana tribes, setting up a similar despotism to that of Chaka in the more central regions of the continent, where his hordes still dwell near the southern side of the Zambezi river. These must, however, be regarded as exceptional cases; for while they display the theory of the Kaffir government in its natural and full developement, many causes are constantly in operation to check such an abuse of the prerogatives which the people admit that the Chiefs possess. None but first-rate Chiefs of great powers of mind, and ready with resources that embolden them to depart from ordinary modes of action, dare attempt a despotism like that described. Such men do not arise in every generation, nor among all nations or tribes; and Chiefs of this character usually die a violent death by the hand of treachery. This happened both to the predecessor and successor of Chaka, as well as to himself; for they were all three savagely butchered by those individuals who, possessing certain rights of descent, wished to avail themselves of some favourable circumstances to usurp the government.

The principal check possessed by the Kaffir tribes upon the despotism of the Chiefs, consists in the opportunity which each family or kraal may find to desert from their country and place themselves under some other Chief. This must, however, be done very stealthily, and is usually managed in the darkness of the night, when the cattle are carried off to the chosen tribe so quietly as not to arrest the attention of any of the retainers of the Chief whom they are forsaking. Should the deserters be detected before they have escaped from the district, any of their clansmen, being in sufficient force, would fall upon them; and, after a conflict in which

blood would most likely be spilt, would deprive them of their cattle and other property, on the ground that they were carrying away that which belongs to the Chief and his tribe. Once arrived, however, within the territory of the Chief under whom they wish to place themselves, they simply send an ox to him in token of submission to his authority, with a message that they wish to live under his protection, and they become quite secure from further molestation. Any party of their late tribe pursuing them into the district occupied by the people of the Chief with whom they had taken refuge, would be opposed by his whole force, and it might be made a case of war; every Chief feeling it a point of honour to afford protection to the extent of his power to all who place themselves under his authority. This system usually acts as a great preventive of tyranny; for as the real consequence of a Chief in the country depends on the number of his vassals, a strong motive is supplied to render himself popular with them. Hence his frequent presents of cattle to the most important and influential of his people, and the various means employed by him in stimulating the loyalty of the mass of the tribe, especially while he is young, and does not feel quite sure of his position.

While, however, by these means the tyranny of the Chiefs and the abuse of their power are in general greatly restrained, this is hardly to be regarded as an unmixed benefit; for, on the other hand, the peculiarity of his position renders it almost impracticable for a Chief of ordinary ability or power to introduce any material change in the laws or habits of the people, whereby he might hope to improve their general condition. The Chief is afraid to shock their prejudices in regard to

long established habits and customs, lest he should render himself unpopular; hence nothing is done without consulting the more wealthy and influential of the plebeian portion of his tribe, and these *amapakate*, or "counselors," are always opposed to innovations which are likely to impose restraint on the passions, or to interfere with the cherished customs, of the people, however injurious in their tendency. Thus a Kaffir Chief may be said to be powerful for the conservation of all the practices of the country that accord with the sensual and sinful propensities of the people; but he is comparatively weak and helpless in restraining them from any evil and mischievous course which there is a general desire to pursue.

The REVENUE, by which a Chief maintains his authority and influence in the tribe, consists of cattle, and is derived from several sources; as the portion of the family inheritance, or *ilifa*, which descended to him from his father or predecessor; the offerings made by the people at the time when he was circumcised and introduced into manhood and the status of a Chief. These are of considerable amount in the aggregate, and, besides the offerings of the people of the tribe, include others from friendly Chiefs or other branches of the family connected with other tribes. There are also the constantly recurring occasions when fines and offerings are required to be brought to the Chief, and especially the demands sometimes made on the various kraals, under the name of the *ukuqola*, or the *isitabataba*, which are presents or offerings from all the wealthier classes of the people; a sort of property-tax, only occasionally demanded, however, and never very popular, unless there has been some calamity of war or pestilence

which has greatly thinned the Chief's herds. The number and description of cattle contributed are left very much to be determined by the person paying the tax; the aggregate collection is nevertheless sometimes very large. Finally, the Chief's cattle-folds are replenished from time to time by fines and occasional "eating up" of delinquents, by which is meant the confiscation of the whole of their property, for alleged witchcraft, treason, or other great political crimes. Besides these ordinary sources of revenue, extraordinary supplies are sometimes obtained in the form of extorted presents on occasions when the Chief "honours" the wealthier classes of the people with a visit, and temporary sojourn at their respective kraals. A large share also of the cattle obtained by such predatory excursions of the people as he sanctions, are likewise placed at his disposal by the young warriors or robbers that engage in these affairs.

The LAW is administered in due form in Kaffraria. It consists of a sort of "common law," explained and enforced by reference to numerous "precedents" of cases decided from time immemorial by Chiefs of acknowledged authority and wisdom. Whenever there are no disturbing causes arising from family interests, personal friendships, or tribal considerations, substantial justice is done in the cases that come before the Chief; but when from any circumstances, such as those just suggested, any influential motive is present to his mind, it is not difficult for him in the "glorious uncertainty" to make "the worse appear the better cause," and great injustice is not unfrequently done by "due course" of Kaffir law. It would be easy to state the whole process by which various kinds of law-suits are conducted, and the constitution of the courts before which such affairs

are tried and decided ; but the needful explanations would unavoidably extend to a much greater length than my space will allow, and, perhaps, enlarged statements on this subject would not prove very interesting to the general reader.

The Kaffir nations cannot properly be said to possess any RELIGION ; but they practise a complicated system of SUPERSTITION, which interweaves itself with all the principal transactions of their social life, and produces most of their peculiar characteristics as a race of people. The universal prevalence of superstitious observances among them arrested my attention before I had been a year in their country. Indeed, I made it the subject of frequent remark in my earliest letters to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in which, even at that early period, I expressed my opinion that the “rainmakers” and “amqqira” were “the successors or representatives of a former race of Priests.” Of course, more intimate acquaintance with the people afforded enlarged opportunities for observation by myself and brethren during many successive years. I will, therefore, now endeavour to furnish as comprehensive a view of Kaffir superstitions as the brevity enforced by my limited space, and possibly the reader’s patience, will allow. There can be little doubt that the remote ancestors of the Kaffirs professed some kind of religion ; but, from the absence of any form of hieroglyphical or other kind of writing, tradition has merely served to preserve certain outward ceremonies, which have necessitated the perpetuation of a class of persons who are obviously the living representatives of an ancient Priesthood, that was accustomed to celebrate the rites of some old but un-
form of religion. As now practised, however,

these rites are superstitious rather than religious, and have reference to the averting of present evils, and the attainment of earthly good, rather than seeking the favour of God, and securing the blessedness of a future life.

The history of all nations shows that wherever, from the absence of the influence of the divinely revealed religion, the devil reigns without a rival in the hearts of "the children of disobedience," and exactly in the degree in which this condition prevails, the minds of the population are invariably enslaved by fear, often amounting to terror, of the power of witchcraft. This is especially the case in Kaffraria. The people universally believe that, aided by some mysterious and evil influence, the nature of which no one can define or explain, bad persons may enter into league with wolves, baboons, jackals, and particularly with an imaginary amphibious creature, mostly abiding in the deep portions of the rivers, and called by the Border Kaffirs *utikoloshe*. By the mysterious intercourse said to be maintained with these and other detested or imaginary creatures, the evil-minded wizards and witches are supposed to obtain their supernatural powers for doing harm to those whom they design to injure in person or property. "There ought to be no witchcraft practised in the land," says a zealous Missionary, or an anxious government functionary. "Truly!" respond the Kaffirs, with facile and evident concurrence in the opinion. But the newly arrived European, whether Missionary or Colonial Agent, requires to be told, that the Kaffirs are thinking solely of the supposed witches and wizards and their fiendish propensities, while he is referring to the necessity of putting an end to the acts and practices of the men and women who undertake to detect the wizards,

and to discover the *ubuti* or bewitching matter. I have several times noticed the occurrence of this double misapprehension between the colonial authorities and the natives. The Kaffirs, however, will never put down the witch-finders, whom they regard as engaged in a good work; but they are always prepared to maltreat and murder any one who they are convinced exercises the power of witchcraft. It is not for me to decide the vexed question, whether or not through the unrestrained demoniacal agency which prevails among heathen nations, individuals may be instructed in some mysterious methods of injuring those on whom they have turned an evil eye. I can only say that there is no question the Kaffirs think that such a power may be acquired; for there is reason to believe that individuals among them practise various arts with that end in view. It is not very easy to determine whether Holy Writ, in some of the passages referring to wizards and witchcraft, reprobates the practice, or the pretended practice, of witchcraft as a fact, or whether it merely forbids the folly of employing "diviners" and "soothsayers" to discover the wizards, and to counteract their malpractices. With great diffidence I would submit to the reader, that some texts of Scripture can hardly be fully interpreted without regarding them as denouncing alike the practices of the wizard or pretended wizard, and "the curious arts" of the witchfinder. Christianity alone will eventually destroy both; for "the Son of God was manifested to destroy the works of the devil."

Seeking deliverance from the power of witchcraft, to which most of the more distressing calamities of life in Kaffraria are usually referred, the Kaffirs have frequent

recourse to the *inncibi* or *amagqiha*. These are a class of men who, from the ceremonies they frequently celebrate, may not be unaptly called the "Priests" of the country. The Colonists, and other Europeans generally, call them "the wise men," or "the Kaffir doctors;" but neither of these designations is a translation of the names which the Kaffirs give to these persons. No doubt, they are often consulted as wise men or wise women, (for females sometimes discharge these functions,) on occasions when property has been lost or stolen, and also for guidance in cases of special perplexity occurring either to individuals or tribes. They generally act likewise as doctors in cases of sickness, prescribing various simples for the cure of complaints; but there is a class of native medicos who are not supposed to be endued with the higher faculties of predicting coming events, witch-finding, and rain-making. The proper practitioners, or, as they may be denominated, the native Priests of the higher grade, are initiated into their office by a peculiar process, called *ukutwasa*; and very disagreeable consequences, probably even the forfeiture of life itself, would follow an usurpation of this office without a previous induction into the priesthood by the authorized method.

It is remarkable that "the word which expresses this initiatory process, *ukutwasa*, means 'renewal,' and is the same that is used for the first appearance of the new moon, and for the putting forth of the grass and buds at the commencement of spring." This expression is therefore probably intended to intimate that the individual undergoes a new birth, or new creation, by which he is elevated to a higher state than others, and in virtue of which he is qualified to hold intercourse with

the *imishologu*, or spirits of the departed. When he begins to aspire to this office, it becomes manifest to his family and friends by various external symptoms. "He is seized with an unaccountable sickness or ailment, which often continues for months. While in this state, he is constantly groaning, and appears to endure a great deal of mental as well as bodily suffering." He allows his finger-nails and his hair to grow, until the former are like birds' claws, and the latter assumes the appearance of a huge mop or wig. He renders himself still more noticeable by fastening small inflated bladders and teeth and bones of various wild animals to his hair and around his neck. His whole manner becomes strange and like that of an insane person, and his speech is often incoherent and ambiguous. He frequently goes away for many days and nights together to the mountains or other lonesome places, and lives no one knows how. This is the period of inflation. He is indulging strange ideas and indescribable fancies; and sometimes startles the people by seeming to converse with invisible and unknown beings on some strange and incomprehensible subjects. The headman of the kraal or family now feels it his duty to report the case to the Chief. The Priests are in due course informed of the strange conduct of the individual who has thus arrested attention; and some of them thereupon visit his residence, where they question and examine him; but their proceedings are carried on in the deepest seclusion and secrecy, and none but the Priests know in what the initiatory rites consist. Whenever they are satisfied that the individual is really in a state of *ukutwasa*, and that he is no pretender or impostor, they finally admit him to their order by what they

call the *ukupehlelela*. I may here interject the remark, that this word was at an early period suggested to me by our native interpreters, as the equivalent for "to baptize," because in this ceremony of *ukupehlelela* the Priests sprinkled the novice with water, as the concluding initiatory rite. For some time we used the word in this sense, but on further consideration we deemed it better to discontinue the use of a term for the initiatory rite of Christianity, which had become the established word for the ceremony by which men were inducted into this kind of heathen priesthood. Hence, to avoid all mistake by the people, and also to prevent any complaint arising in Europe, as to our giving a special meaning to the word "baptize," which might seem to fix the mode in which that rite should be performed, we have merely Kaffirized the Greek word, as in the English version of the Bible it is Anglicized; and in Kaffraria Christian baptism is now well understood to be meant by the term *ukubaptiseshe*.

Where there are Priests, the existence of sacrifices is supposed: accordingly the Kaffir *amaggira* are connected with a system of sacrifices and offerings of considerable extent, which, under their direction, are provided from time to time by all the people. They are celebrated by the officiating Priest, excepting in a few cases of domestic offerings, which are presented by the head of the family. The sacrifices in most cases are obviously intended to be propitiatory. The *imishologu* have been offended by some transgressions, or they have been neglected and disregarded: hence a beast must be slain to propitiate them and turn away their anger. When the Priest is in a state of inflation during the performance of certain noisy and exciting ceremonies, "he

declares what kind of beast is to be slaughtered for sacrifice, describing it chiefly by its colour." Generally, when the offering is made to the departed spirits, "the spine of the sacrificial beast is cut out from the head to its termination, including the tail, and carefully deposited in a place appointed for its reception. The blood is caught in a vessel, and, together with the caul or inside fat, conveyed to the hut of the sick person; or, in case of some other calamity, to such place as the Priest may appoint; and there they are left sometimes for two or three days for the gratification of the *umsologu's* appetite. After this, the spine and other bones of the sacrificial beast, together with the inside fat, are buried, and the blood is buried in the dry dung of the cattle-fold. The act of carefully cutting out the spine naturally divides the animal into two parts: one side is taken by the Priest, and is eaten by him and his family alone; the remainder is publicly eaten by all the people of the kraal for whose benefit the sacrifice was made; but none of it can be carried away from the kraal or eaten in private. Strangers, however, who happen to be present at the ceremony, may partake thereof. During the process of sacrificing, and subsequently, certain rites are performed and charms prepared; but the manner of performing these rites and preparing the charms is known only to the initiated." A part of the ceremonies frequently performed by the Priests consists of burning strongly-scented flowers and herbs, which, being tied into convenient bundles, they often take in their hands, and wave them about while the smoke ascends. The action while so engaged is exactly as if they were offering "incense;" but I never ascertained what name they give to this ceremony.

The sacrifices are generally offered to the departed spirits, *iminyannya* or *imishologu*, of their ancestors. Before Missionaries and other Europeans had intercourse with the Kaffirs, they seem to have had extremely vague and indistinct notions concerning the existence of God. The older Kaffirs used to speak of *Umdali*, the Creator or Maker of all things, and *Uhlanga*, which word seems to have been used to denote the source or place from whence all living things came forth. The word which has been in general use among the border tribes for a long time past to denote the One Supreme Deity, is *Utixo*. This appellation is never used by the Kaffirs with reference to any other person or being than God; excepting, indeed, metaphorically, they may say to an individual whom they wish to flatter, "You are our *utixo*," meaning their god. There is a very slight similarity between this word and the term used by the Hottentots in their native language to denote the Deity; and this circumstance has led many persons to the conclusion that the Kaffirs derived the word from the Hottentots; but this supposition is doubtful, and rests on a very uncertain foundation. After long and careful consideration, the Missionaries have generally concurred in the adoption of the word *Utixo* as the name for God; and throughout the whole extent of country from the Colony to beyond the Umzimvubu River no other meaning is attached to this word by the Kaffirs, excepting very rarely in the figurative sense mentioned above, which, however, is strictly confined to the Heathen, as no Kaffirs that are under Christian instruction would apply the term even metaphorically in that manner. I presume to say, that the Bishop of Natal, although of unquestionably great learning and high

character, rather needlessly endeavoured, long after *Utiro* had been adopted as the word for "God," to introduce some new word; but the various Kaffir terms which he suggested were all inappropriate, as they were equally applicable to men, and were occasionally used with reference to men. At length Dr. Colenso attempted to cut the knot of this difficulty by Kaffirizing the Latin name of God, and writing the word thus, "UDIO." Unluckily, however, the same word already existed in the Zulu-Kaffir language, and, according to the Rev. J. L. Dohne, a learned Missionary of the American Board of Missions, "means a small earthen pot for dishing up food. It is no wonder, therefore, that the natives are obliged to explain the Bishop's UDIO by saying that it means UTIXO."

I need not explain at length the various occasions on which sacrifices are offered, or the diversified ceremonies wherewith they are celebrated. There are what may be called public sacrifices and ceremonies. These are such as are performed by the order of the great Chief of the tribe, and large numbers of the people usually attend them. The *public* or *tribal sacrifices* are offered on the following among other occasions, viz., (1.) Whenever the tribe is going to war. This sacrifice, called the *ukukafula*, is connected with some disgusting ceremonies, intended to make the warriors strong, courageous, and invulnerable in battle; and there are also certain charms employed on these occasions to render their enemies weak and cowardly. (2.) At the funeral ceremonies of a deceased Chief of great rank. (3.) At the *umhlahlo* and *ukwombelo*, when the Priest is expected to expose the bewitching matter, *ubuti*, and to declare who is the *igqirra* or wizard that has been exercising malevolent

influence over the person or property of others. Sometimes there is an *ukwombelo* without the *umhlahlo*; wherever the former is alone practised, it is only expected that the *ubuti* or bewitching matter will be discovered; but the *umhlahlo*, when ordered by the Chief, usually terminates in naming and tormenting the alleged wizard. (4.) At the offering of the first-fruits. In some tribes these must be eaten at the Chief's kraal. It is accounted a great crime among them for any persons to partake of the first-fruits of the harvest before this ceremony has been celebrated. (5.) At the ceremonies of the rain-maker. The term by which the rain-maker is designated is *umnini wemvula*, *i. e.*, master or controller of the rain. (6.) At the concluding feast of circumcision, which will be described further on. (7.) At the feast which follows the slaying of an elephant, a boa-constrictor, and, probably, some other animals or creatures.

Besides these public or tribal sacrifices there are *domestic or family sacrifices*, at which the presence of a Priest is not always indispensable, but he is called to celebrate some of them. The following are a few of the occasions for these family sacrifices. (1.) After the birth of a child the mother is not allowed to be seen out of her hut, or to be visited by her husband or other male friends during her *ukufumana* or confinement, which continues for a month. "During this period she abstains entirely from the use of milk. At its expiration her friends and neighbours are invited; and ordinarily the sacrificial beast is killed by the husband without the assistance of a Priest. A feast ensues; each of her female friends present her with a few loose beads, which she strings on the *ubulunga*, or other charms

which she usually wears around her neck. She is smeared all over her person with fat and red clay, and the feast of her purification is then complete." (2.) At the *intonjane*, when a young girl of a certain age, with various absurd and licentious ceremonies, not to be described here, is declared to be marriageable. This custom is to girls the same in effect as that of circumcision to the boys. It introduces the girls into the society and privileges of women, as circumcision inducts the boys into all the immunities of manhood. (3.) At the death of any individual on the kraal, as already stated. (4.) Whenever the lightning, during a thunder storm, strikes the cattle-fold or any hut on the kraal, especially if any beast or human being is killed or injured thereby. This occurs rather frequently during the summer months in some parts of Kaffraria. The being to whom the sacrifice is offered on this occasion is called the *Inkosi*, *i. e.*, "the Lord;" *Inkosi* being the title of rank applicable to all hereditary Chiefs. The sacrifices are usually offered to the *imishologu*, or the spirits or ghosts of their departed ancestors. In this case, however, they are accustomed to speak of offering to the *Inkosi*. They have no idea and cannot explain to which of the departed Chiefs the reference is made by *Inkosi*; and my own impression is, that this is a remnant of a faint tradition of the existence of the great God, the *Inkosi*, "the Lord," which has survived among them through ages of intervening darkness concerning Him. My conviction on this point is strengthened by the fact, that since the Kaffirs obtained from Europeans a more distinct idea of the existence of God, many of them now believe and say, that the lightning descends directly from *Ulixo*, the term which, for reasons already ex-

plained, the Missionaries have adopted as the proper name for the Divine Being. This fact the reader will probably regard as some justification of our application of the word, as well as an evidence that by *Inkosi* in this sacrifice the ancestors of the Kaffirs meant the "Lord of all." "They do not allow any lamentation to be made for a person killed by lightning, as they say that it would be a sign of disloyalty to lament for one whom the *Inkosi* had sent for; and it would cause him to punish them by making the lightning again descend and do them another injury." A Priest is always required to attend and offer this sacrifice; and the numerous ceremonies affecting every person on the kraal in their food and dress, the hut that has been struck, the temporary separation of the people concerned from the rest of the community; the very gradual relaxation of these restraints until some months have elapsed before they wholly cease; the unusual amount of remuneration to the Priest for his services,—six to ten head of cattle,—all serve to show that the sacrifice offered to the *Inkosi* on these occasions exceeds, in their estimation, all others in importance.

The rite of CIRCUMCISION has been already incidentally referred to. With rare exceptions all the Kaffir tribes practise it. No doubt their remote ancestors celebrated it as the initiatory rite of their religion; but, as now practised among them, it seems to be regarded chiefly as a ceremony of social life, by which the individual is introduced to the enjoyment of certain rights and privileges which were not previously open to him. At the same time, the individual who has thus become a man, is considered to be thenceforward responsible for the discharge of the duties of his station in life; and

it is particularly impressed upon him, that he must conform to the superstitious *amasiko*, customs or usages of his forefathers. The rite is performed on lads who are usually from about twelve to fifteen years of age. It is the custom to collect all the boys in a particular neighbourhood, to the number of from ten to thirty or more, who submit to the rite at one time. A large hut is erected for them in some situation a few hundred yards distant from the most central kraal of the neighbourhood. After the person selected for the purpose has operated upon them, their bodies are smeared with a kind of pipe-clay. A singular dress, made from the broad leaves of the wild palm, which grows near many of the rivers, is presented to each of them. It consists of a sort of kilt suspended from a waistband, and extending down as far as the knees; a loose covering of similar material is sometimes put over the shoulders, while other dried leaves of the same kind are used to form a very wild-looking head-dress. This is the distinguishing dress of the *amukweta*, as they are called, during the period of their separation from society. They live together under the care of a keeper, designated *inkankata*, and they are supported by the milk of certain cows placed under his management or stewardship for that purpose. Abundant supplies of corn are also sent to them from time to time; and if they find any lack of food, they possess the privilege of seizing it wherever they can find it, even to the extent of an ox from any man's herd, to slaughter. In fact, this temporary club of youngsters, for the period of their association together, seem to have nothing to do but "to eat, drink, and be merry." They too often use their privileges to the last degree of licentiousness.

They are prohibited from appearing in the presence of married women, excepting when they visit the kraal at set times for the purpose of exhibiting themselves before the people. On these occasions the whole company parades through the country in single file, and, when near the kraals, they stand in line, executing the indescribable movements of a species of dance, which causes their leafy dress to give forth a rustling noise, the effect of which is heightened by the youths keeping regular time with their feet, and producing a strange sound, resembling *hish, hish, hish*. The women at the kraals visited by the *abakweta* sing a monotonous song, in which various libidinous allusions, accompanied by indecent gestures, are occasionally intermingled. As an accompaniment to their wild kind of throat music, they beat time on shields or dry ox-hides with sticks. This dance is called *ukutshila*, perhaps from the rustling noise made by the dresses of the youths, and *ukuye-yezela*, a word probably derived from the prevailing character of their unmeaning song, which seems to consist of incessant repetitions of the principal syllables of this word, long drawn out in a particular tone. Woe to the horseman who happens to come suddenly on a party of this kind in the field! Their appearance and movements are so wild and startling that hardly any animal would be induced to approach them. I have known some good riders thrown from their horses by unexpectedly coming into close contact with this species of procession. Circumcision is usually performed about the month of December, the beginning of the Kaffir summer; and the youths must remain in their separate state till the corn is harvested, so that they generally live in this manner three or four months.

When the day arrives which is appointed for the termination of their novitiate, there is an assemblage of all the people of the neighbourhood at the kraal of its principal *umpakati*; or, when there are sons of a Chief among the novices, the public assembly for the reception of the youths into adult society takes place at the kraal of the Chief. At this period a beast is offered in sacrifice; portions of its flesh, and also the flesh of other cattle slaughtered for the purpose, are eaten by the multitude who come together; the youths are brought in due form to the kraal, and continue dancing their grotesque dance. "This ceremony always takes place about harvest time, when there is a supply of fresh corn to make the fermented liquor called *utyalwa*, (Kaffir beer,) which is drunk freely on such occasions." One part of the proceedings consists in the men of the kraals chasing the youths at their utmost speed to the spot on the river or stream where the ablution is to be performed. At the river the *abakweta* are bathed and washed; all the white clay with which they have been covered for months is thus cleansed from their persons. Returning to their large hut of separation, they are now smeared with fat and *imbola*, or red ochre, and each receives a new skin garment. All their old skin cloaks, and various articles which they have used during the period of their separation, are placed inside the hut, which is then set on fire, and, together with every thing therein, consumed to ashes. While this conflagration is going on, the youths and their attendants proceed to the kraal where the ceremonies are to be concluded, and are specially careful "not to look back" on the burning hut, lest some calamity should overtake them. The more effectually to prevent the possibility of their

doing so, they usually draw up their cloaks so as to cover their heads.

The concluding ceremonies of the feast consist of the *ukuyala* and the *ukusoka*. The former means the lecture or advice which is addressed to them by Chiefs or other persons of leading influence, in the course of which they are instructed that they have now become men, that they must put away childish things, that they must obey their Chiefs, act courageously in battle, and be active in the chase; that they must accumulate cattle, and provide for those of their friends who may become dependent upon them; and, generally, that they must exercise hospitality and kindness towards all their friends and neighbours. These exhortations are not always delivered in a very affectionate tone and spirit, but more frequently with lordly authority, and mingled expressions of something like contempt for the lads, as if to impress them with an idea that they must not be so elated with their transition into the state of manhood as to overlook the necessity of due subordination to their superiors. The inauguration lecture or discourse being over, the ceremony of *ukusoka* commences, which is no doubt much more interesting to the youths concerned; various presents being now handed to each of them by their friends and neighbours, so that they may have something with which to begin life. Cattle, *isikuli* or javelins, brass girdles, beads, and other ornaments, are thus presented to them; and, finally, they are declared to be fully inducted into the state of manhood. Henceforth they are qualified to “mingle with the men as equals, and are eligible as husbands, warriors, pleaders, or depredators.” The importance attached to this rite may be inferred when I state, that

the Kaffir women universally betray great repugnance to the idea of being married to any uncircumcised native ; and although, under the influence of Christianity, a few have at times surmounted the prejudice, yet it will require the steady attention of the Missionaries for a long time to come, before the practice will fall into desuetude. A great step towards this desirable result may, however, be taken without absolutely forbidding the rite, by instructing all native Christians, that their religious profession is wholly incompatible with the unchaste and heathenish ceremonies which are connected with it. This has not been by any means overlooked or neglected ; but the sons of Christian natives, who have attained the age considered suitable for circumcision, almost invariably seek an opportunity to desert their homes and join one of the parties of *abakweta*, while the native laws and Chiefs protect them in so doing, and render the effectual interference of the parent impossible. It is a great evil, which can only be extirpated by the blessing of God on much vigilance and patient perseverance in teaching on the part of the Missionaries.

Without entering into further details concerning the customs and superstitions of the Kaffir nations, I will conclude this chapter with a statement of circumstances connected with a public disputation that I once held with a noted "rain-maker," and which will furnish the reader with a tolerably clear view of the nature of that imposture.

"On the appointed day I took with me my interpreter, (a faithful native Christian, who felt deeply interested in the matter,) and proceeded with the Chiefs and their attendants to a place distant about eight or ten miles to the northward

of Wesleyville. The rain-maker was himself a petty Chief, of the tribe called Amambalu, a branch of which at that time resided on the Gxwashu, a streamlet which flows into the Chalumna river. On our arrival, we found that large companies of the people of various clans had reached the spot before us. When all had assembled, there were about a thousand men present, to say nothing of a considerable body of women, who stood at some distance, attentively watching our proceedings. The scene was, in some respects, very impressive. The locality was one of those wild and romantic dells which form a peculiar feature of the coast-country of Kaffraria.

“We were kept a long time waiting under a fiercely burning sun. But this, as I had previously observed, is deemed a necessary part of a formal meeting with Chiefs in Kaffraria. At length, a question in the usual mode being put by one of Gqindiva’s people, he was answered by one of Pato’s counsellors, that Pato was come to see Gqindiva, and ask for rain. Nothing more was said just then, but after a short delay the rain-maker issued from one of his huts, attended by several of his men and a number of women. He was entirely without dress or covering, but his face and limbs were here and there streaked with red ochre, and he wore on his head a sort of turban, composed of the skin of some wild animal. He held a long assagay, or javelin, and a short *induku*, or knobbed stick, in his hand. The whole of the Kaffirs now stood up, and formed a large semicircle, standing in files, two or three deep, upon the *isikunthla*, or *kotta*, as the Bechuanas call it. The rain-maker now questioned Pato as to his reason for coming to his kraal. This elicited a reply to the effect that the country was ‘*dead with drought* ;’ that all were in the deepest distress, and they had come to ask rain from the *umnini wemvula*. They were all poor, but they had brought a trifle for his acceptance; and the rain-maker’s attention was now directed to a few head of cattle intended as a present or offering to him, to enable him to obtain rain for the country. After some remarks about these cattle, Gqindiva commenced walking slowly round the circle, gradually increasing his speed into a dance, and then to a rapid *galopade*, in which he was followed by his male attendants, the women mean-

time singing a horrid ditty, and beating time upon the palms of their hands. Now and then the crowd of Pato's people commenced beating time, also, upon their bundles of javelins, with the long *intonga*, or fencing-stick, which they always carry with them. Another part of the ceremony consisted in burning a variety of scented herbs, and offering these in the manner of incense to some invisible being. The rain-maker, as usual on such occasions, either was or pretended to be inflated with feelings that were too great for expression. He became much excited, and, after many incoherent and incomprehensible utterances, in a peculiar style of affectation he said, 'I cannot obtain rain; there is a hindrance. Something turns or prevents the rain.' I saw that this remark produced excitement among the people. It often happens at this point, that some unfortunate man is mentioned as having by witchcraft or evil device restrained the falling of the rain. The result is, of course, that the man becomes a victim to the superstition and rage of the people: he is seized and tormented, with a view to compel him to confess his deeds, and to discover the *ubuti*, (bewitching matter or charm,) that its evil influence may be destroyed. Not unfrequently the man or woman, as the case may be, is drowned in some deep pool, that being the form of death for one who hinders the rain from falling; but if he escapes with life, after severe torture, his cattle and those of his family are always seized and distributed among the followers of the Chief. Seeing that the proceedings were arrived at a crisis, I now thought it was time for me to speak. I therefore began to address Pato in due Kaffir form, and said that I was a child, I knew nothing of their customs; but I knew what God had told us in His word, and, as I knew it to be the word of truth, I wished with his consent to ask Gqindiva some questions, because I could not understand what he had already said about the rain. This led to the following conversation:—

"*Pato*.—'You are my Teacher; I wish you to ask questions. I do not myself understand. Speak what you think, and here is Gqindiva: he will explain.'

"*Missionary*.—'Now, Gqindiva, you are the *umnini wemvula*: you say you can make rain?'

"*Rain-maker*.—'I do not say so. I say, I seek the rain.'

“*Missionary.*—‘And when you seek it, you find it, and bring it to the country?’

“*Rain-maker.*—‘I have often given rain to the country. Here are Pato and other Chiefs, who know that I have done so on former occasions. Why do they come here to ask, if they did not know that I have the rain?’

“*Missionary.*—‘Well, now, I think rain comes from God. Here, in the book,’ (showing my New Testament,) ‘it says that God gives rain.’

“I read aloud, ‘*God in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and GAVE US RAIN FROM HEAVEN, and FRUITFUL SEASONS, filling our hearts with food and gladness.*’ (Acts xiv. 16, 17.) And, speaking to the heathen assembly, I never felt myself on surer ground than while enlarging on these appropriate words. They arrested much attention, and the interest of the people was at this moment very marked.

“*Rain-maker.*—‘The Book speaks truly. I also say that God gives the rain.’

“(I felt this to be a most important admission, and I saw that the Chiefs chuckled at it.)

“*Missionary.*—‘How so? You said just now that *you* have the rain, and *you* give rain.’

“*Rain-maker.*—‘I have the rain: I ask rain from the spirits; and I would give it, but I am hindered.’

“*Missionary.*—‘Well, Gqindiva, this is strange. You say you have the rain, and here is the whole country burned with the sun; the ground is hard, nothing grows in the gardens, there is no grass on the commons; the very water in many of the rivers is stagnant.’ (Turning round, and pointing to his own garden and corn-fields, I continued :) ‘There are your own lands, with the crops all withering; and yonder, on the hill-side, are your own cattle,—lean, meagre, and ready to perish from want of grass. If you have rain, why not give it without delay? Why do you injure yourself, and kill the country, by suffering this terrible drought to continue?’ (Here arose a murmur of approval among the people.)

“*Rain-maker.* (Much excited, apparently very angry, and losing for a while the self-possession for which all Kaffirs are remarkable on particular and important occasions.)—‘I

would give rain : I have been trying these three moons to bring rain, but there is something that turns or hinders the rain.'

"*Missionary*.—'Who is it that hinders the rain from falling? and how is it done?' (This question still further increased the excitement. I knew I had pushed the matter to its utmost limit, and the reply might be that some unfortunate Kaffir was the guilty individual. I felt sure, however, that I had sufficient influence over the Chiefs at the time to prevent any immediate personal danger to any one who might be named. There was a pause for a while; when suddenly, seeming to recollect himself,)—

"*Rain-maker*.—'Do you ask me who hinders the rain?'

"*Missionary*.—'It is I who ask.'

"*Rain-maker*.—'YOU ARE THE HINDRANCE.'

"*Missionary*.—'How do I hinder the rain from falling?'

"*Rain-maker*.—'I have slaughtered cattle, and offered to the spirits; I have often burned herbs. When the clouds come up from the sea, and spread over all the land, and the rain is ready to fall, *that thing* which you have brought into the country and set up on a pole on the hill at Etweccu,' (Wesleyville,) 'goes *tinkle—tinkle—tinkle*; and immediately the clouds begin to scatter, they disappear, and no rain can fall.'

"*Missionary*.—'Now I know that you speak lies. God never told you that the bell which calls the people to worship Him is the means of preventing the rain from falling. I will tell you what I think. Perhaps God sends these droughts because the people seek from you and other rain-makers, who are only men, what they should ask from Him only.'

"I followed up this observation by many others: and, as the day was far spent, and there did not seem much probability, from the turn which had been given to the affair, that any Kaffir kraal would be 'eaten up' (as the phrase among the Kaffirs runs) in punishment for preventing the rain, the Chiefs and people seemed anxious to return home. After devouring the flesh of two oxen, which had been killed as food for the people, we all went to our respective places of abode.

"On the way home, and afterwards for several days, there was no small stir among the natives about the recent discussion between the Missionary and the rain-maker; only a small portion of which is reported above. Opinions were

greatly divided. Some believed the rain-maker, while others, both among the Chiefs and the people, inclined to think that the words of the Missionary were stronger and more convincing than those of Gqindiva. Soon after, the Chiefs asked me what was now to be done. The drought continued in unmitigated severity; and the chapel-bell, the alleged cause of so much mischief, was still tinkled for school, or worship, or both, every day. Some of the native residents of the Mission village—no doubt acted upon by the prevailing fears of the people at large—came to the Missionary, and urged that, although they had no belief in Gqindiva's word, yet it might be well that we should cease from using the bell till after rain had fallen, as otherwise all who resided at the Mission village would lie under a very painful imputation, which might produce most unpleasant results. It is not easy for those who live in a Christian country, under the protection of just and equal laws, to understand the uneasiness which was felt, and thus expressed, by some of the people and Chiefs, of whose kindly feelings toward the Missionaries there was no doubt. It was a time of perplexity; but duty seemed to be plain. It was resolved, in humble dependence upon God, to give no countenance to the prevailing superstition by yielding the point. The bell continued to be rung, as usual. But I told the Chiefs and the people in the neighbourhood, that we would hold a special meeting for prayer, to ask rain from God. I was very careful to explain that no Teacher sent from God could give rain; that God is the Giver of every good gift; but that He has told us to pray to Him in our time of need. Hence the Missionary proposed to set apart a whole day for fasting and prayer, and at certain intervals during the day to call together the people at the chapel, by ringing of the bell, that they might humble themselves and offer their solemn and earnest petitions. Chiefs and people very readily acceded to this arrangement. On the appointed day, the fast was rigorously observed; so much so, that applications were made to the Missionary, to know whether the infants at the breast should be permitted to receive their usual nourishment! The several services of that memorable day were attended by a large number of people, including the principal Chiefs. Much was said on the subject in

various brief addresses. Many fervent prayers were offered by the members of the Mission families, male and female, and also by several native converts. God was pleased in His infinite mercy to answer for Himself. Just as the people were beginning to assemble for the evening service, (the last for the day,) drops of rain began to fall slowly, and without any very great promise of a copious flood. But, while the service was proceeding, the clouds were rolling up from the direction of the great Southern Ocean; and, at the time of its close, the rain was falling in heavy showers. It increased during the night, and became continuous, coming down heavily hour after hour. All the smaller streams were speedily overflowing; and on the third day some of the people came to the Missionary and said, 'The rivers are overflowing their banks, and washing away some of the gardens: would it not now be well to thank God, and tell Him that it is enough, and pray that He may now withhold His hand?' Truly, all acknowledged that this was 'God's RAIN.' Gqindiva and his profession fell into disrepute in all that neighbourhood; and, for many years after, the Chiefs and counsellors of the Amagonakwaybie never made another application to a rain-maker.

"It is painful to add that Gqindiva remained a very violent opponent of Christianity, and the new ideas it was introducing into the country; for many, who did not yield to "the soul-converting grace," embraced views not in accordance with the old superstition. The most determined Heathens were, in general, the most restless people in the country. This rain-maker was associated with a number of Kaffirs, of the Amambalu and Imidanki tribes, who were noted robbers, often making forays into the Colony, and robbing the cattle-kraals of the Dutch and English settlers. They removed, after the events narrated above, to a place near where the present Fort Peddie stands. During the Kaffir war of 1834-5, they were most conspicuous in their daring attacks upon the colonists, and were at length attacked in retaliation by some British troops and settlers. Gqindiva showed much bravery, exposed himself greatly in resisting the troops, and ended his career by being shot down with others of his companions, while fighting against a Government which had no other desire than to maintain peace and order in the country."

CHAPTER VI.

KAFFRARIA—EXTENSION OF THE MISSION.

PROPOSED "Chain of Stations"—First Visit to Dhlambi's Kraal—Extensive Missionary Tour planned—Visit to Dushani—Discussion with him—Second Visit to Dhlambi—His remarkable Words—Site selected for "Mount Coke"—Commencement and Progress of this *second* Station—Its Destruction by War—Its Recommencement by Rev. W. Impey—Attack on it during the War of 1848—Present Condition—The *third* Mission—First Visit to Hintsa—Description of "the royal Residence"—Introduction to the Chief—Tembookies—Filthy Feeding—The "Court Jester"—Discussion with Hintsa—Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury's Arrival at Wesleyville—Second Visit to Hintsa—Successive Visits to Gaika and Dhlambi—Mr. Shrewsbury removes to Hintsa's Country—Kaffir Thieves, and Incident on the Way—The *third* Station, or "Butterworth," commenced—Formally recognised by the Chief—Destruction of the Station by War—Death of Hintsa—Resumption and Progress of this Mission—Destroyed a second Time by War—Compensation from Krieli—Renewed and again destroyed by War the third Time—Wreck of the "Grosvenor"—Mulattoes on the Coast—Mr. Shrewsbury's Visit and Report—Dedication of Chapel at Butterworth—Troublous Times—Journey to Depa's Country—"The Hole in the Wall"—Meet with Depa—Descendants of white Persons wrecked on the Coast—The Enemy's Proceedings and Bivouac—Hippopotami in the Umtata River—An uncomfortable Sabbath—Return to Butterworth—Conversation with Bessy, Depa's Sister—Commencement of the *fourth* Mission—Journey to Depa's Country for this Purpose—Impracticable Roads—Dangers of Travelling—Jealousies of the Chiefs—This Mission called "Morley"—Leave Mr. Shepstone on the new Station—War and Wolves—Early Destruction of Morley by War—The treacherous Murder of Englishmen by the Chief Qeto—Re-establishment of the Station—Rev. S. Palmer—The *fifth* Kaffir Mission—First Visit to Vossanie, Chief of the Abatembu—Station subsequently commenced by Rev. R. Haddy—

Called "Clarkebury"—Mr. Rawlins and Rev. J. S. Thomas killed by Natives—The *sixth* Kaffir Mission—First Visit to Faku, Chief of the Amampondo—Fatiguing Journey—Kaffir Pillow—Distress of the Amampondo occasioned by recent Invasion of the Amazulu—Interview and Discussion with Faku and his Councillors—Native Feuds and Conflicts—Rev. W. B. Boyce appointed to commence the Mission with Faku's people—His Introduction to the Chief—Commencement of the Mission named "Buntingville"—Its Progress—The *seventh* and *eighth* Missions subsequently commenced—Shawbury—Palmerton—Eight principal Stations in Kaffraria—Progress and Success—Missions of other Societies—Promising Prospects.

I HAD not been long settled at Wesleyville, before I felt desirous of becoming more extensively acquainted with the people and the country. I wished to visit all the principal Chiefs, and to ascertain from personal observation whether my projected plan for establishing a "chain of Stations" among the tribes along the coast towards Natal was practicable; that if it appeared to be so, I might strongly and unceasingly urge it on the attention of the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. I will now therefore record the principal proceedings of myself and the Missionaries who came to my help, and which ultimately led to the realization of my most sanguine hopes, by the formation of a complete line of Stations from the border of the Eastern Province to Port Natal. They extended over a travelling distance of about four hundred miles, through a country in which, when we visited them, the whole body of the people, without exception, were shrouded in the deep darkness of an unmitigated Paganism.

The acquaintance which I had formed with the old Chief Dhlambi, and his sons Dushani and Kye, as related in my account of the Conference held between them and the Commandant of the frontier, induced

them to profess great attachment to me. Each of them sent me a present of an ox in token of his favour and friendship. As their tribe was more powerful than that of Pato, the latter was well pleased that I had secured the good opinion of Dhlambi, since he saw in this circumstance the means of preserving peace between the two tribes, which, though politically in alliance, were accustomed to have petty feuds arising from family and clannish interests, wherein “the weaker always went to the wall.” I paid a visit to Dhlambi and Dushani at their kraals, not far from the Gunubi River, and about forty miles distant from Wesleyville. I was received with great hospitality, according to their mode of displaying it, by the slaughter of oxen, &c. The object of my first visit was to cement this friendly feeling, to see the country and the people, and to ascertain whether Dhlambi would be willing to receive a Missionary into his tribe. He was cautious in his replies, evidently fearing to commit himself; but he told me I must come again, and he would discuss that subject more fully with me. My people said that this was in fact a tacit consent, but that I must visit him again, and make a formal request, when he would obtain the concurrence of the other Chiefs and the Councillors to this great innovation.

In the month of March, 1825, the late Rev. James Whitworth paid me a visit at Wesleyville. During the time he was my visitor I planned a tour through Kaffraria as far as the residence of Vossanie, the great Chief of the Abatembu or Tembookie nation,—including in my route the kraals of Dushani, Dhlambi, and Hintsa, the last named being the *Ukumkani*, or paramount Chief of the whole Amaxosa nation. Mr.

Whitworth accompanied me on this journey, which was performed during the month of April; and the result of our visits to the respective Chiefs was, on the whole, satisfactory and encouraging. We travelled on horseback, taking with us some pack-oxen, on which we fastened our cloaks, blankets, and other necessary articles for use on the way. There was at that time no wagon road up the country, and we traversed the native tracks or foot-paths. But, after a journey of sixteen days, we accomplished our object, and my record at its end says:—"April 15th. Arrived at home, being hungry, weary, and dirty, but grateful to God for all the mercies of the journey, and for preserving our families in safety and health during our absence." On this journey of observation I became personally acquainted with the greatest Chiefs of the country, and with the relative position and circumstances of the several tribes; and I also obtained some idea as to our prospects for extending the Mission.

It was evident that the *second* Station which it was desirable for us to establish should be with the tribe of Dhlambi, including in the arrangement the large clan already under the government of his son Dushani. We therefore first visited these Chiefs. On arriving at the kraal of Dushani, he led us to a hut which seemed to be appropriated to the use of strangers, but open to the weather on all sides. After the common and troublesome formalities of an African meeting,—having pacified the frightened children, entertained the inquisitive women, and distributed small presents of beads or buttons to the men,—we told Dushani that we wished to discuss with him the object of our visit. He said that since he had been at the Mission Station, (referring to

a visit he had made to Wesleyville a few months before,) he had seen it was a very good thing to have *abafundis* or “teachers” among them, and therefore he would call his principal Chiefs and *Amapakati* or Counsellors, to consult them. During the interval a basket of milk and curds was set before us, of which we partook freely. Soon after this there came boiled meat in an earthen pot, without knife, fork, plate, bread, or any vegetable, served, however, to us in the same manner as to the Chief himself. The Counsellors did not come together till the next day. When assembled in the forenoon, the people formed a considerable congregation, and I requested Mr. Whitworth to preach in English, while I translated what he said into Dutch, from which language one of our people, a very apt interpreter, rendered it into Kaffir, that at length all might know what the preacher was saying. Mr. Whitworth had had no experience among the Kaffirs, and hence the sermon was rather more discursive and less compact than suited the circumstances of the time. It referred successively to the “creation, fall, and redemption of man;” and one of the old men said rather sarcastically, it would “ruin them to attend to these things, for their children would neglect the cattle!” After the Counsellors had been about four hours in deliberation, they came in due form to our hut, with Dushani at their head. He made many inquiries, which had evidently been raised in the Council, as to whether our King, or the Governor of the Colony, had sent us? whether they would be pleased at our coming without their knowledge? and whether we would use our influence to get them restored to their country? In our replies, I made them distinctly understand that we had nothing to do with these affairs, but that

our business was to preach the word of God. He then urged that I should write from time to time what he had to say to the great man of the Colony, which I promised to do, but carefully explained that we could not engage that the Government would grant all or any of his requests. Dushani now said, "The country is before you, you must choose a place where you will sit down (*i. e.*, reside). Our manners are so different from yours, that we cannot choose for you; but you must choose and fix where you please."

We thanked the Chief for the satisfactory settlement of our business, and he sent off a messenger to explain all that had occurred, to his aged father, to whose residence, distant eight or ten miles, we now prepared to proceed. I may here remark that Dushani, a man of large stature, of a peculiarly fierce countenance, and a noted warrior, was a leader in the spirited onset made by the Kaffirs at Graham's Town, in 1819, only about six years previously to this interview. He was supported by about eight thousand men, whose foolhardy attack on the small body of British infantry and artillery, while it cost them the lives of many of the bravest of their number, nearly succeeded in carrying the only position that defended the cantonment on the side that they assailed, or which there were troops to defend. On our arrival at the kraal of Dhlambi, we found him sitting at the door of his hut. From a complaint in his eyes, he was nearly blind, and at this time we calculated, from what I knew of his history, that he was more than eighty years of age. He had long tyrannized over his people, and our native attendants were evidently at first afraid to talk with him. I sent Kotongo to tell him that his "son" asked for sweet milk,

and that we wished, moreover, to preach God's Word in his hut. Leave was immediately granted, and the unusually large hut was soon filled. I gave out a verse of a Kaffir hymn, which, together with our attendants, we began to sing, and to our gratification we found the old Chief striving after his fashion to join in the song of praise. When a short address on the Gospel of our Saviour had been delivered, we explained to him our errand; but Dushani's messenger had already fully informed him of all that had been said at his kraal. Whatever may have been the inward thoughts of his heart it is impossible to say, but certainly there could be no mistaking the joy that glistened on his furrowed countenance. He said the news which he had heard this evening, was "too great for Kaffirs, who were so blind, deaf, and stupid, that we could never make them understand." After some conversation, he finally decided on our request, saying, "The land is all before you, choose for yourselves where you will live. I am old, but my children are young, and they shall all learn of you."

In the month of June I held a meeting, for conference with my brethren; and it was agreed that a Mission should be forthwith commenced with the tribe of Dhlambi. Another Missionary having arrived from England, Mr. K. was appointed to begin the new Mission. I now once more visited Dhlambi, to introduce him to that Chief, and complete the final arrangements by selecting the site for the Station. On this occasion, we found the old Chief still gratified by the prospect of obtaining a Missionary, and his people seemed also to be much pleased. I fear that this arose mainly from a notion that it would improve their political import-

ance and position. Certainly we never held out that possibility as a motive; but Divine Providence can overrule even the vain and worldly wishes of men, and make these subserve His designs, whenever it pleaseth the Great Ruler to cause the "earth" to "help the woman." (Rev. xii. 16.) Dhlambi gave utterance at this time to some remarkable words. Leaning forward upon his staff, with his eyes fixed on the ground, he said, "I see strange things to-day. I am old and unable to help or defend myself, but to-day I see a great Inkosi (Chief or Captain), to-day I have got an ear! He shall be to me also for eyes! To-day I see that I have friends in the world! I have been an earth-worm, but to-day I creep out of the hole!" Addressing his people who stood around, he continued: "Like wolves and wild dogs, we have been hid in dark places, but to-day we are called men, and see the light."

On Thursday, the 7th day of July, 1825, accompanied by the Chiefs Dushani and Kye, whom Dhlambi had appointed for that purpose, we left his kraal, and examined the country near the Buffalo River. The neighbourhood was at the time almost without inhabitants; but the consent of the Colonial Government, which had been lately granted to this tribe to re-occupy the country between that river and the Keiskamma, had induced them to resolve that the Chiefs should, in the course of the year, take possession of it. They brought us to the river Umkangiso, a small stream, which, rising in high land, runs a few miles, and then enters the Buffalo. Here we found an excellent site for a Station, on elevated ground, commanding an extensive and beautiful view over the country to the northward and eastward. The lands seemed fertile, the grass was

abundant, and extensive forests of timber and other wood were not far distant. With these requisites for the formation of a missionary settlement, and the assurance of the Chiefs that the place would shortly be the centre of a large population, we selected the site on which the Mission still stands. A remarkable hill, having its base close to the spot, and which is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, induced us to call this Station Mount Coke, in honour of the Rev. Dr. Coke, who is justly regarded as the forerunner and founder of the Methodist Missions, which he commenced under the direction of the venerable Wesley long before the era at which the modern Missionary Societies were formed.

About the end of July, 1825, Mr. Tainton, a British settler from Albany, who had been engaged as an assistant to the Missionary at Mount Coke, arrived with his family at Wesleyville. Here they remained for some time making preparatory arrangements, and Mr. Tainton then proceeded to Mount Coke to erect a dwelling for Mr. K. and family, who, after a few weeks, removed from Graham's Town, and commenced this new Mission. It will not be possible for me to record within my limited space a detailed history of this and other Missions, which were successively established in Kaffraria. I must content myself with the general statement, that its early history was encouraging. There was much darkness and ignorance prevailing among the people, but after a few years light began to be diffused. A Christian Church was formed, which increased and prospered, especially during the residence of the Rev. S. Young, who was much liked by the Chiefs and people of the tribe, and was greatly beloved by the

residents of the Mission village. In common with our other Stations in Kaffraria, Mount Coke passed through various reverses and changes. The Missionaries and people have been at times in great personal danger, during the wars, and were occasionally much discouraged; but since the last war, which terminated in 1852, this important Mission has greatly prospered. It is now chiefly peopled by Fingoe Kaffirs; and very few of the original settlers on the Station remain there. But many heathen during the course of years have been converted and baptized at this place. Although the Mission village had been twice burnt down, and for a time had been removed to another site on the Buffalo River, yet it was again rebuilt on the original spot, where it still stands. In the last war this place was attacked by a very strong and resolute party, consisting of rebel Hottentots, who were well mounted and armed. The Mount Coke people resolutely defended themselves and their property during the fierce night attack. It was of course an exciting time for the Rev. W. Impey, Mrs. Impey, and family, and indeed for all on the place at the time; but Divine Providence preserved them. Eleven natives and one European were killed or severely wounded during these conflicts in and near the village. I visited this Station several times during and after the war; and in the month of November, 1853, I was surprised and thankful to see the vast improvement and progress which had been made, notwithstanding these adverse events. Mount Coke was recommenced by Mr. Impey under somewhat unpromising circumstances in 1849. A mere handful of people were all that could be collected, as the wars had scattered the former inhabitants; but, at the time of my visit, the people resident at

the place had again increased to more than one thousand souls, while there was a very large scattered population of Kaffirs living within the circle of a few miles. The buildings had been erected in a most substantial manner. The Minister's house was a pleasant residence, with a beautiful garden and cultivated field in front. A large substantial building had been converted into a printing-office, with paper room, binders' room, editor's room, &c., which were to be completed on the removal of Mr. Appleyard to this Station. A farm was cultivated in connexion with the "Watson Institution" for training native Schoolmasters, which was also established here. From the profits arising from the sale of the produce at King William's Town, nearly the entire cost was provided for the erection of a commodious house, with school-room and other rooms attached, for the use of the "Watson Institution." This building was just completed at the time of my visit; and the whole village, with the neat chapel surmounted by its simple bellry, forming a conspicuous object on the higher part of the hill, presented as pretty a rural scene as can be met with anywhere in Southern Africa. All the houses, and likewise the native dwellings on the Station, were neatly plastered and whitewashed, and added much to the liveliness of the landscape, which also comprised in the foreground large fields in a good state of cultivation, together with a distant view of one of the finest ranges of mountains fringed with forest that can be imagined. Such was Mount Coke at that date, and I have reason to know that it has not declined under the care of the Rev. J. W. Appleyard. There is now a native Church of more than one hundred accredited members on this Station; and the important results of the establishment

of a printing office at this place will be more fully stated in a subsequent chapter.

The *third* Mission established by us was with the people of the great Chief Hintsa, called the Amagcaleka tribe. My first interview with this Chief, as already stated, was in April, 1825. On our arrival we had an opportunity of surveying the "royal residence." It was situated amidst some singular rocks of globular trap-stone, and commanded a view of a beautiful valley, comprising an extensive flat of rich alluvial soil, bounded by a meandering stream called by the Kaffirs Gcuwa, or Ghoowa, which, flowing in a roundabout course, gave the valley a circular form. The kraal consisted of some thirty huts of the usual size and appearance. They looked like so many haycocks interspersed among the large stones at the foot of the rocky ridge, a locality that had evidently been chosen to secure shelter from the high winds. We were informed that the Chief was at a distance; but the people promised to send a messenger for him. I do not know if he was really absent on this occasion; but I found out afterwards that it is part of the state ceremonial for a great Chief to be "not at home" on the arrival of strangers to visit him. This is done partly with a view to "look big," or perhaps, as I ought to express it, to assume a grave and dignified appearance. The principal object, however, of this practice is to afford the attendants an opportunity to reconnoitre among the new arrivals, and report to the "great one" whether it will comport with his dignity or safety, as the case may be, to allow himself to be seen and approached. During the real or pretended absence of Hintsa, we seated ourselves at the distance of two or three hundred yards from the kraal,

under the spreading branches of a beautiful tree, which at that time grew nearly in the centre of the valley described above. While sitting under the shadow of our friendly tree, a basket of milk was sent to us. In reply to the question whether we were to pay for it, the answer was prompt, "No, this is a great place!" At length, seven of the Chief's wives approached us, and saluted us with one voice in the manner usual when the natives approach the aristocracy of the country,—*Azinkosi!* which may be rendered, "O Chiefs!" They sat a few minutes near us without speaking; perhaps they were considering how they might begin the conversation; for Kaffir ladies are not usually remarkable for taciturnity. It was, however, soon announced that the "great man" was coming, when they immediately rose and left us. Hintsu now approached with a retinue of persons, and, in compliment to us as white men, shook hands with us, which he had been told was the mode of salutation among Europeans.

Hintsu greeted us cheerfully, and, after squatting a few minutes near us, rose and went away to attend to some law-suit or other public business which was going on at his kraal. Some time afterwards, a messenger came from him to say that an ox was ready for our use, and it was the only food the Chief could present to us. Our native attendants, who had been fully anticipating this compliment, and the consequent feast it would afford them, very soon performed the part of butchers by slaughtering the animal. Some Tembookies who were here as messengers assisted them, and begged a portion of the entrails of the beast, which when given to them they rapidly devoured after very slight preparatory cleansing, and no cooking. To drink the gall

seemed to be either a great luxury, or it was swallowed by them for some medicinal virtue which they supposed it to contain. I have often witnessed this feat, but never could assure myself as to the precise motive for taking what I suppose must be an uncommonly disagreeable dose. Ultimately portions of the flesh were distributed among the natives, our own people keeping the best parts for the use of our party, making a proper reserve to be carried on our pack-ox, when we proceeded on our journey. Having continued in the open air for some time, we sent to ask whether the Chief would allow us the use of a hut in which we might eat our supper and sleep. After a long delay, he sent a man to say that he was angry with his people that they had not sooner prepared a hut for us, but that it was now quite ready. About sun-set, "the fool," or "jester," kept at this great place and the residences of all Chiefs of great power and authority in Southern Africa, as a similar functionary was formerly kept in the courts of more civilized countries, repeatedly cried aloud his usual public announcement of the events of the day. Mixed up with many highly complimentary praises of his master, he said, "Our Chief is a great Chief, &c. When the white men came to see him, he received them. He looked at them. He shook hands, and gave them an ox to eat." This was followed by another long rigmorole, consisting of a recital of the pedigree, titles, virtues, and glorious deeds of the Chief. I have often been amused on other occasions, and at the kraals of other Kaffir Chiefs, with this strange burlesque on the cries, proclamations, and formal announcements still made during great state ceremonies by the heralds and pursuivants of much more highly civilized courts.

While we were waiting the leisure of Hintsä, we explained the first principles of religion to the party of Tembookies who were staying at his kraal; and in the evening Hintsä came to our religious service, and was attentive. I afterwards stated the object of our visit: namely, to inquire whether he would be willing to receive a Christian Missionary into his country for the instruction of himself and people. He said he could give no reply till he had consulted his principal men. On the next day, Hintsä excused himself from not attending to us, on the ground that he was much occupied in making up the last instalment of the dowry of cattle for his lately betrothed Tembookie wife. It was for the purpose of receiving and taking back these cattle to their master that the party of Tembookies were visiting this place. Hintsä wished us to make up our minds to remain with him a few days, that he might send for some distant counsellors; but we urged the reasons which rendered a speedy reply desirable. We employed much of the day in collecting words for a Kaffir vocabulary, and on the second night slept very uncomfortably. The strangers' hut was as usual very badly thatched, a heavy rain fell and beat through the roof and sides of the hut at every point, while a stream of water ran over the ground, so that we could not keep ourselves dry. We were, however, glad to learn that during the storm Hintsä had been in council with his great men, and on the afternoon of the third day he came to us attended by his principal Chiefs and Amapakati in great form, when, having called upon me to state in their hearing the object of our visit, he replied, "The word is a great word, and a good word, and I love it; and I am sure it will be a good thing for my people."

After some whispering among themselves, he concluded by saying aloud to us, that since Gaika, and Dhlambi, and Pato had received Missionaries, he would consult those Chiefs, and then send us a final answer. We gathered from the conversation, that although he had heard as the current news of the country, that these Chiefs had admitted Missionaries among their respective tribes, yet they had never formally reported to him, as the *Ukumkani*, that they had done so; and his present decision was designed partly as a mark of respect to them, but chiefly as a tacit reproof for their not having consulted him in so important a matter.

The Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, of whose character and previous labours in the West Indies I have spoken in the first part of this work, arrived with his family at Wesleyville on the 24th of November, 1826. It had been decided, after his arrival in South Africa, that he should commence the Mission in Hintsa's country. I resolved to accompany him, and introduce him to the Chief. Accordingly, we left Wesleyville for that purpose on the 4th of December, and called at Mount Coke to take Mr. K. with us.

On this occasion we travelled in a wagon, accompanied by a number of our Wesleyville people, to assist in making a road over the more impracticable parts of our course. With considerable difficulty, we made our way through the various passes and over the mountains which intersected our path, and reached Hintsa's kraal on the 12th of December. The result of this visit was not decisive. Hintsa evidently did not wish to assume the grave responsibility of granting a formal permission for the commencement of the Mission. He desired us to visit Gaika and Dhlambi, and to cause them to send him

their "word," or opinion, upon the subject; but he repeatedly said that no word should proceed out of his mouth "that would go to prohibit so good a thing as the establishment of God's word in the land." We returned home, and subsequently Mr. Shrewsbury and myself visited the Chiefs Gaika and Dhlambi twice, and held wearisome conferences with them and their Counsellors. We successively drew from them favourable, but warily expressed, sentiments. All this difficulty was created by their notions of family pride and by their tribal jealousies. Mr. Shrewsbury nobly resolved to cut the matter short by proceeding with his family to Hintsa's country, taking all risk of being obliged to return again, should the Chief finally refuse permission. I, therefore, once more accompanied him to Hintsa's country; and besides Mr. and Mrs. Shrewsbury and family, Mr. Tainton, from Mount Coke, went with us, to assist in putting up a temporary shed, or wattled dwelling, for the Mission family, as the winter was commencing, and very cold weather was setting in.

I think it was on this journey that a rather amusing occurrence happened. Iron was so scarce among the Kaffirs, that a few pounds' weight would, in barter among themselves, purchase an ox or a cow. It was, therefore, not surprising that they used to torment us by stealing every piece of iron which they could carry off, with any hope of being undiscovered in the act,—regardless of the serious inconvenience to which we were frequently subjected by their furtive proceedings. While we were descending a steep, rocky bank into the ford of a river, one of the wagons broke loose from the drag-chain, and, running down the precipice with great force, snapped off a large and long bolt which fastened the

upper part of the wagon to the fore-wheels. This occasioned the necessity of unyoking the oxen and unloading the wagon, for the purpose of removing the broken bolt. Fortunately, we were provided with a spare one, to meet such a contingency ; but when it was tried, it was found too thick to pass into the proper place for it. There was no alternative but to kindle a large fire, and make the iron bolt red-hot, so that it might burn its way into its place. Mr. Tainton, having completed this job, threw the bolt down for a while to cool, at a short distance from the wagon, where it was almost hidden by some plants and weeds. While all this was going forward, a great crowd of Kaffirs had gathered around us, and were shouting, hallooing, and amusing themselves in various ways ; some of the women being engaged in driving bargains with our people for baskets of sour milk and corn. In the midst of our occupations, a young Kaffir, coming to the spot, spied out the large iron bolt, the red heat of which having passed off, he had no idea what process it had just before undergone. The Kaffirs frequently accomplish petty thefts by standing in an apparently unconcerned manner over or near the coveted article ; and as their kaross falls around them nearly to their heels, it affords a convenient cover. The thief uses his foot and toes to take up the object, and, gently raising and bending his leg, he puts down an arm behind his cloak and seizes the article, which he fastens to the back part of the girdle that goes round his loins, and the trick is completed. They can do this very dexterously ; and, like London pickpockets, they are often in league with others, who draw the owner's attention away while the chief operator is engaged in his business. In this instance the young Kaffir, as a preliminary to his

meditated theft, put his foot firmly on the heated bolt. The consequence may be readily imagined. He uttered an involuntary scream, which startled us all: in an instant, his foot being severely burnt, he went off limping, amidst the jeers, taunts, and laughter of the Kaffirs, who at once perceived how wofully he had mistaken his mark; and certainly we ourselves felt small sympathy for his sorrow, but, on the contrary, were no little amused to see “the biter bitten.”

After our arrival at Hintsä's residence, we had another conference with him. While the Chief did not express in any decisive terms his consent, yet he made no serious objection to the actual commencement of the Mission. Mr. Shrewsbury therefore resolved to remain; and I left him and Mrs. Shrewsbury on the site they had chosen, and returned to my family at Wesleyville. Thus was the Butterworth Station* established, and shortly afterwards Mr. Shepstone removed from Wesleyville to assist Mr. Shrewsbury in the arduous work of commencing this Mission. Hintsä did not, however, formally recognise the Missionaries till some months afterwards, when on August the 9th, 1827, with great Kaffir ceremony, he sent to the Station one of his brothers and a company of Counsellors, mostly old men, (Counsellors of Kauta, his father,) with the following remarkable message:—
“Hintsä sends to you these men, that you may know

* So called in honour of Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P., a Methodist of long standing, and a devoted and active Christian gentleman, who, while he loved his own religious denomination greatly, was nevertheless always ready to co-operate on catholic principles—as far as opportunity allowed—with all who were engaged in any work of faith or labour of love. He was for some years the honoured Treasurer of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, but died somewhat unexpectedly a short time before this Station was founded.

them: they are now your friends; for to-day Hintsä adopts you into the same family, and makes the Mission the head of that house. If any one does you wrong, apply to them for redress. If in anything you need help, ask from them assistance." And as a confirmation of the whole, (pointing to a fat ox they had brought,) "There is a cake of bread from the house of Kautä." This placed the Mission under the protection of the law, and was advantageous in various respects. A few natives began to take up their abode on the place, and a resident population, with a regular congregation, was formed; while Mr. Shrewsbury zealously itinerated in various parts of the extensive and wild district of country occupied by the various tribes and clans of the Amagcaleka. The Station was subsequently occupied by various Missionaries. It has suffered severely several times from the Kaffir wars. In 1833, Hintsä having joined the Gaika tribes in a war on the Colonists, and having acted very treacherously towards certain European traders, who were at the time in his country, it was believed that he also contemplated the murder of the Missionary and destruction of the Station: hence the Rev. John Ayliff, the resident Missionary, was constrained to escape with his family, accompanied by the native inhabitants of the Mission village, and take refuge in the Tembookie country. The village was immediately afterwards plundered and destroyed by the Kaffirs. In this war, however, Hintsä met his own death, while endeavouring to escape, under very suspicious circumstances, from the British force, in whose custody he had voluntarily placed himself as a hostage, preparatory to obtaining peace with the Colony.

The Mission was resumed after the war, and had

greatly progressed under the successive care of Messrs. Pearce and Gladwin, when it was again destroyed in the war of 1846-47. In 1848, I visited Krielie, the son and successor of Hintsä; he begged me to re-establish Butterworth once more, to which I consented, on condition that he would cause the persons who had twice destroyed the Station to contribute such a number of cattle as might form some compensation for the losses sustained by the destruction of the buildings, and carrying off other valuable property from the place. I had previously declined to receive from Sir Peregrine Maitland a large number of cattle taken by the troops from Hintsä's people, which that excellent Governor offered as some compensation for the losses of our Society; for I did not think it desirable that the Mission should receive any part of the cattle taken in war: but I considered that a payment made by the Chief, and obtained from his own people, was so obviously fair and reasonable, that there could be no objection to our receiving it; and I hoped it might operate as some prevention to a repetition of the same conduct, in the event of a future war. Krielie readily consented to the proposal, and we received from him as many cattle as, when sold, covered the greater portion of the cost incurred by once more erecting the Mission-premises, and likewise compensated the personal losses of the Mission family. The Station was, therefore, again commenced, and for some time it prospered greatly, under the active management of the late Mr. Gladwin, when the terrible war of 1851-52 once more led to its abandonment and destruction. The Missionary with his family nobly remained at his post during all the earlier period of the war; but when the British forces marched into that part of the country,

during a last general attack upon the hostile tribes, their situation became so critical, that they were reluctantly induced to retire, under the protection of the troops, to King William's Town.

Since that period, no further attempt has been made to re-establish the Butterworth Mission. The number of our Missionaries had been gradually reduced, and as some Stations were unavoidably left without a supply, we thought it best that Butterworth should, for a time, be one of them. I consequently sent a message to the Chief, telling him that the conduct of himself and his people had wearied our patience. Krielie has, notwithstanding, at various times sent pressing messages, requesting another renewal of this Mission; and we should have resumed it some time ago, but, the country being in a disturbed state at the period when, by an increase of our labourers, we might have re-occupied it, the colonial authorities requested that the contemplated resumption of the Butterworth Station might be postponed. Since that time great changes have taken place in the country; but Krielie is still a very powerful Chief; and, as the Kaffirs are already rapidly congregating in the districts lying between the Kei and Bashee Rivers, I trust the Butterworth Mission will ere long be resumed on the extensive and valuable lands which are the property of the Society at that place. In this case, it may be hoped that a rich reward will yet be reaped for the sufferings and toils of many years' endurance on this Station.

During the first few months' residence of Mr. Shrewsbury at Butterworth, he made the acquaintance of Nicholas Lochenberg, a Dutch boer, who had been nearly thirty years expatriated; and, with his Mulatto wife and family, was living in a secluded place near the

coast, in the territory of Hintsa. By rendering assistance with his gun in war and in hunting, he had made himself useful to the Chief, and was permitted to live in the country. This man, whose family afterwards settled on the Butterworth Station, called the attention of Messrs. Shrewsbury and Shepstone to the fact, that there were certain Mulattoes living higher up the coast, who were descended from three white women, that had been wrecked many years before. In August, 1827, Mr. Shrewsbury, accompanied by Lochenberg, paid a visit to these people. At first, it was supposed that the three white females formed a part of the unfortunate passengers wrecked in the "Grosvenor," East Indiaman, on the 4th of August, 1782; but reference to a publication of Captain Riou, R.N., made it evident that these individuals had been wrecked at a much earlier date. In August, 1790, Mr. Jacob Van Reenen, an intelligent Cape gentleman, with twelve of his countrymen, and accompanied by a retinue of Hottentots and slaves, and several wagons, undertook, with the sanction of the Cape authorities, to attempt a discovery of the remainder of the crew of the above-named vessel. This expedition did not pass through the border Kaffir tribes, but entered Kaffraria at a point higher up to the northward, and travelled through the country more recently occupied by the Tembookies. From the Journal, which was published in London in 1792, we learn that on November 3rd, 1791, the party having arrived in the country of the "Hambonas," (Amampondos,) they were informed by some messengers sent to them by "Camboosa," (Gambushe,) that there was a village or kraal of Mulattoes, who were descended from people shipwrecked on that coast, and of whom three old women

were still living, whom Umtonone, the Amampondo Captain, had taken as his wives. On the next day they visited the kraal, and found that some of the people "were descended from Europeans, and others from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies." They also saw the three old women, who told them that they were sisters, and had been shipwrecked on the coast when children; but they could not say to what nation they belonged, being too young to know at the time the disaster occurred. The farmers offered to take them and their children to the Colony on their return, at which they seemed very much pleased.

The party afterwards proceeded with their wagons to the banks of the Ungazana, or "Little Ungazi," River, where they saw "a village of these people, with very extensive gardens, planted with Kaffir corn, maize, sweet canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other plants. They had also some cattle." On the 26th of November, being about to return to the Colony, Van Reenen would have taken the *three old women* with his party. They expressed a desire of waiting till their harvest time to gather in their crops, and said that for this reason they would at present rather remain with their children and grandchildren; but at a future time their whole race, "about four hundred in number, would be happy to leave their present abode." The writer of this statement says that, "on our visit to these women, they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description."

In consequence of Mr. Shrewsbury's very interesting report at the following District Meeting, concerning the Chief Depa and others descended from the white people, and the great desire of the tribes in that part of the

country to receive a Missionary, I was requested, and readily consented, to visit the Amampondo country, and take such preparatory steps as circumstances might warrant for the extension of our Mission into these distant regions. A few weeks after our return from the District Meeting at Graham's Town, there was quite a gathering of Missionaries at Butterworth, to assist in the dedication services of a substantial chapel, which had been erected for the accommodation of the growing congregation. Besides the brethren resident on the Station, the Rev. J. Brownlie of the London Society's Mission, the Rev. S. Young from Mount Coke, and the Rev. J. Davis from Graham's Town, and myself, were all present, and took part in the interesting services, which were held on the 22nd day of June, 1828. On our way to Butterworth, in crossing the difficult country on both sides of the Kei, we were passed by a large body of Kaffir warriors, carrying their shields and other implements of war. They were on their way to Hintsa's kraal, whither they had been summoned hastily in consequence of reports which had reached that Chief, that the Fitcani were approaching his territory. These strangers had already made some fierce forays among the Tembookies, and had even attacked some of the more advanced Amagcaleka. Hintsa had, therefore, been induced to send "the war-cry" among the clans, and assemble his forces to defend their country. It was in these troublous times that we were to proceed on our proposed visit to Depa, and the country of the Amampondo. However, as our route was to be along the coast close to the sea, we hoped that it would be sufficiently far from the disturbed districts to prevent our meeting with any of the invading tribes. Taking leave of our wives

at Butterworth, and of Messrs. Brownlie and Young, who returned to their Stations, Mr. Shrewsbury and I proceeded to the kraal of Lochenberg, who, with Mr. D——, accompanied us on this journey.

We departed from Lochenberg's kraal, not far from the eastern bank of the Kei, on the 26th of June; and, during our ride, noticed a small bay near the mouth of the Qora or Khokha River, where a few vessels might apparently anchor and obtain shelter from the north-westerly winds, which usually prevail during the winter months. This place has since that period acquired the name of "Mazeppa Bay;" and has occasionally been visited by trading vessels. Passing on, we reached a remote cattle place belonging to the Chief Hintsä, at the Jujuka. Here we found that Chief; and he was glad to hear that we were going further up the coast. He earnestly requested that we would send him "the news" respecting the Fitcani; who he said had left word with the tribes beyond the Bashee, previously to their retreat, that they would return again after "three moons." On the 27th, in pursuing our journey, we crossed the mouths of several rivers, some of which, owing to the spring tides, were rather deep: of course, we frequently got wet in fording or swimming our horses through them. A considerable distance beyond the Bashee, we reached, towards the close of the day, the Umpaku River. At the mouth of the stream we noticed a most singular mountain, well worthy the attention of travellers. It is composed principally of iron-stone, and is of irregular shape, with nearly perpendicular sides. It appeared, from the spot where we viewed it, to be about one hundred yards long at its base, and thirty or forty yards to the top of the highest

part. The waves of the sea dash in huge breakers against the southern side of the hill, while its northern side forms a sort of dam to the waters of the river, which consequently collect, and form a beautiful lagoon. But that which immediately arrests the attention of a traveller is a singular excavation, which runs quite through from the northern to the southern side of the rock,—thus forming a natural tunnel of considerable height, and wide enough to admit a large-sized barge. I never before felt such sensations of admiration on viewing a landscape, as those which I could not help indulging during the short time we halted to look at this spot. The undulatory hills on each side of the river, the lagoon at the foot of the iron mountain, the tremendous breakers incessantly roaring on the beach, and foaming through the perforation in the rock, the glorious sun just setting, and on the opposite side of the horizon the pale moon, having “filled her horn,” rising above the waters of the Indian Ocean,—of which we had at the same moment an extensive view,—formed altogether such a grand and beautiful constellation of objects, that it was not without regret and reluctance I left the place, and with my companions pushed on for the neighbourhood where Lochenberg proposed that we should sleep.* We saw few natives during this day’s ride; and from those whom we met we learned with some surprise that the population had fled in consternation, as during the last few days the Fitcani (Amazulu) had penetrated into this neighbourhood. After nightfall we reached a kraa’

* This singular rock may sometimes be seen from the deck of vessels coming down the coast from the eastward. Viewed from the sea, it has also a remarkable appearance. Some time after the date of our journey, it was marked on the Admiralty Maps as “The Hole in the Wall.”

where there was a large number of people, who were greatly alarmed at our approach, not knowing whether we were friends or foes. Some of them, however, knew Lochenberg; and when he told them that we were Missionaries, their fears soon subsided. These people belonged to Depa, and they informed us that their Chief was not far distant. They supplied us with boiled corn and beans, of which, with some tea which we had brought with us, we contrived to make a hearty supper; but, from the number of natives who occupied the hut with us during the night, our sleeping accommodations were rather more uncomfortable than usual.

On the 26th we had not proceeded far, when we found the Chief Depa at the "Umnenga," or Whale River, surrounded by numbers of his clan, all apparently removing with their cattle. Depa and his family were living among the bushes near the river. We found him to be an infirm old man. His colour and features decidedly displayed his European descent. His mother was one of the three white women who were seen by the exploring party in 1791, but of the other two we could learn no particulars. Probably Depa did not wish that we should hear anything concerning them. He told us, however, a rather different story to that which is related by Van Reenen. He informed us that two *white men* and *his mother*, who was very young at the time, were wrecked on the coast. One of these white men was the father of his mother. She was taken to wife by his own father, Sango, a native Chief, descended from the great family of the Amampondo nation, but from one of its less powerful branches. He also stated that the two white men married native women; which seems probable, for the family has branched out greatly, and the

colour of many of these people is evidence of the extent to which it has increased. Depa's mother was wrecked about 1745-50, or some eighty years before the time of our visit, and she had died less than twenty years before our arrival. We tried to elicit some information from Depa concerning the wreck of the "Grosvenor;" but although he remembered the event, his explanations concerning it were confused and unsatisfactory. He expressed great regret that the country was in such a state of confusion, and intimated an urgent wish that a Missionary might be sent to his tribe as soon as the people were once more settled.

As the Fitcani had been within a short distance of the spot where we found Depa, we asked the people to show us the place where they had bivouacked. One of the men led us a short distance up the valley, and showed us several kraals or native villages where the huts were burned down, and from which the marauders had carried off all the cattle that formed the principal means of the people's subsistence. He also showed us the skeletons of two women who had been murdered by these freebooters. A spot was likewise pointed out to us at a short distance, where a skirmish had taken place between some of Depa's people and the enemy, when several men had been killed. The tribe, however, had not been engaged in any general battle with the Fitcani (Amazulu); but the great branches of the Amampondo natives under Faku and Umyeke had fought with them, and been worsted. The party of the enemy which crossed the Umtata River were said to have been only a small detachment; but, judging from the number and size of their fires, as indicated by the remaining wood ashes, they must have been a numerous body

of men. They had only retired from this spot eight days before we arrived here.

Having seen enough to impress our minds with a strong feeling of the horrors of warfare among the native tribes, and to induce the prayer that the Gospel may soon produce peace among these nations, we proceeded to the beautiful river Umtata, where we saw two large troops of hippopotami, or, as they are called in the Colony, sea-cows. One troop, in which we counted more than twenty, were standing asleep when we approached, just below the ford of the river. As the tide was receding, the water left the upper part of their bodies exposed to view. We were careful to descend to the margin of the river as quietly as possible, so as not to disturb the *siesta* of these unwieldy monsters, who seemed to be enjoying the warm rays of the forenoon sun, then pouring down in all their glory upon the earth. As we had no flesh-meat for ourselves or people, Lochenberg was desired to shoot one of the smaller of them. He was an old practitioner at this kind of shooting; and with his huge *roer*, carrying a heavy pewter ball, he fired, and struck the animal, which was not very far from the side of the river. On the loud report of his gun, it was astounding to see the excitement produced among the hippopotami by this sudden disturbance of their slumber; the whole troop instantly plunged into the deeper water, making it "to boil like a pot;" and we waited, anxiously looking to see whether the sea-cow which Lochenberg had shot would rise again to the surface, as he told us it would, if his ball had taken effect in the mortal part at which he aimed. After a short time the dead hippopotamus rose to the surface of the water, and there was no difficulty

in getting his carcase brought to the side of the river. The reverberating echoes of the gun brought the natives to us in rapidly increasing numbers. They soon provided riems or ropes of ox-hide ; and, entering the water, they speedily fastened the riems or thongs around the neck and legs of the animal, and easily dragged it towards the shore till the water became shallow, and then its great weight prevented them from dragging it nearer to them than a spot where the water was about knee-deep. Lochenberg first directed our servants to cut off the prime parts for our use, which we afterwards found, when baked in hot ashes, to be pretty good eating for very hungry men. The natives are passionately fond of this kind of meat, and as most of them were now, in consequence of the war, in a starving condition, we were glad to afford them a large supply of food, which occasioned no small joy among them. It was amusing to see the eagerness with which they rushed into the water, when they were told they might help themselves to the flesh of the animal. I was at first afraid they would cut each other's hands off with their spears, in the scramble to obtain a good share. But they displayed great dexterity and practical skill in anatomy, by the extraordinary rapidity with which they cut up into more than a hundred pieces the immense carcase of this animal, which, although still young, was much heavier than that of a full-grown ox.

The next day being Sunday, we endeavoured to conduct a religious service in the bush. We succeeded in collecting a considerable congregation, including Depa and his sons, to whom I preached on, "God so loved the world," &c. A few were attentive ; but the greater part seemed to be occupied with other thoughts.

The quiet of the Sabbath was disturbed in consequence of the return, during the previous night, of a number of people who had been beyond the Umtata, to bring away the corn which they had left buried in their cattle kraals when they fled from the enemy. These people brought news that the Fitcani, having been met by reinforcements from Chaka's County, were again advancing: that their avowed object now was to take back "the scalps of Faku, Vosani, and Hintsu, the respective great Chiefs of the Amampondo, Abatembu, and Amaxosa natives, and also some of the long hair, horses, and muskets of the white people, which Chaka had ordered them to take to him." The whole country being thus in confusion, and not knowing where we should find Faku, the *Ukumkani*, or great Chief of the Amampondo, we resolved not to penetrate so far as we had originally intended, but to return immediately towards Butterworth.

On our way back by a more inland route, we called at the kraal of the Chief Umjikwa, who had married the sister of Depa, and who, like him, was an immediate descendant of the white female. We found her to be a strong lively old woman, with well defined European features, and the usual complexion of a Mulatto. She received us very pleasantly, and commenced telling us a long story about the ill-nature of the Amaxosa or Border Kaffirs, who had taken advantage of their late troubles, and, when they fled for refuge to the Bashee, stole many of the choicest of their cattle. We obtained from Depa's sister a more distinct account of the wrecked people from the "Grosvenor" than we could elicit from him, and learned that those of them who journeyed inland were all murdered by the Amampondo, under the

orders of Faku's father, who was at that time the great Chief of the nation. It appears that his jealousy and fear were excited by the large number of our unfortunate countrymen who thus suddenly appeared in his country. It is highly probable that the European ancestors of the mixed race under Depa were English, from the names by which the three Europeans mentioned by his family were called. As these names had, however, been somewhat Kaffirized by the native pronunciation of them, this is not put forth as a very certain criterion for testing this point. The female who was the mother of Depa and his sister, was called "Besi," "Bessy" or "Betsy." One of the European men was called Tomie, probably a native corruption of "Tommy," or "Thomas;" the other, who was the father of "Bessie," was called "Badi," or "Badee."

We reached Butterworth in safety on July 1st. We found our wives had been disturbed during our absence by many rumours and alarms; but as Mr. Shepstone was on the Station, he was enabled to sift "the news" from its exaggerations, and thus they had not been much frightened. On the next day I proceeded with my family towards my home at Wesleyville, which we reached on the 8th; and I greatly interested the Chiefs by giving an account of my journey, and relating the news of the country. They were no little astonished that we ventured to travel among those tribes, so noted for witchcraft and all other bad practices. How little do any of the African tribes confide and trust in each other! The extension of our Missions has brought the various Kaffir Chiefs and people into a state of acquaintance and intercourse such as never existed in former times.

The Chiefs, Depa and his relations Cetani and Landa,

having reiterated by successive messages to Butterworth their earnest request for a Missionary, the Rev. W. Shepstone was appointed at the District Meeting in January, 1829, to commence this *fourth* Kaffir Mission. It being deemed desirable that I and Mr. Shrewsbury should accompany Mr. Shepstone and his family on this difficult enterprise, and render whatever service we could in the first introduction of the Missionary to the Chief, we consented to go on this journey, resolving at the same time, if practicable, to penetrate as far as the residence of the great Chief Faku. On the 5th of May, 1829, after a brief valedictory service held in the chapel at Butterworth, Mr. and Mrs. Shepstone and family commenced their journey for Depa's country: they were accompanied by Mr. Robinson and his wife. Mr. Robinson was a young English settler from Salem, of much piety and promise, whom I had engaged to accompany Mr. Shepstone as his assistant on this Mission. He was shortly after its commencement killed by the fall of a large tree which he was engaged in cutting down for the purpose of obtaining a supply of timber required in the construction of the Mission buildings. Mr. Shepstone and party travelled in two wagons; and Mr. Shrewsbury and myself, leaving our wives at Butterworth, followed them next day on horseback. I need not detail the particulars of this journey. It was, however, performed under great difficulties. No wagons had been on this route before, and the obstacles we encountered in discovering a road likely to be practicable for wagons, with the labour required in the removal of obstructions in the way, involved an amount of toil such as few Missionaries even in Africa have had to undergo. On one part of this journey, it was

requisite to traverse a very impracticable tract of the country, lying between two high points on opposite sides of the Umtata River. This could have been accomplished on horseback in three or four *hours*, not, however, without great fatigue to man and horse; but although we used all diligence, and worked hard, we were four *days* in bringing the wagons by a circuitous route from the one place to the other. On the third day the road proved almost impassable. When one of the wagons had nearly reached the summit of a high mountain to which it had been brought with great difficulty, the united force of the oxen—frequently aided by the men putting their shoulders to the wheels—being hardly equal to the task, the *trektow*, or ox-hide rope to which the yokes of the oxen are fastened, and on which they pull, suddenly gave way; the wagon of course ran down the hill with continually increasing force; and it must have been smashed to atoms, with all it contained, but that it was stopped by a desperate expedient, and was saved at the moment when we were ready to give up all as lost. Even those Colonists who have only been accustomed to travel on the very worst roads of the Colony have but small idea of the extreme difficulty and danger of wagon travelling under such circumstances as those in which we were placed on this journey. To travel with wagons in the more central regions of South Africa, even far beyond the colonial boundaries, is, from the generally level character of the country, comparatively easy; but the broken and all but impracticable surface of the country in this and other parts of Kaffraria near the sea, renders wagon travelling exceedingly difficult, and in many places highly dangerous.

The high mountains and deep valleys did not, however, form our only difficulty at this time. We had much trouble to subdue the personal jealousies and reconcile the differences of the three Chiefs, as to the precise spot where the new Mission should be placed. The perplexity in which this question involved us, arose entirely from the selfish wish of each of the principal Chiefs, to have the Mission exclusively connected with his own clan; while we were, of course, desirous that it should be so placed as to benefit them all. Great patience and temper, with some tact, were required to induce them to agree. At length, however, we selected a very fine site, as to its natural capabilities, and they all agreed that the Mission should be commenced on this place. The locality selected was at the source of the Umdumbi River, near a fine forest, and commanding an extensive view over a very beautiful country, possessing an abundant supply of excellent water and extensive pastures covered with long grass. Here, therefore, the Mission was commenced with the Chief descended from the white woman. At my request it had been already decided by the District Meeting that when this new Station was commenced it should be named "Morley," in honour of my venerated friend and the persevering patron of our Mission in South Eastern Africa, the Rev. George Morley, who was at this period one of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society, and under whose auspices, as Superintendent of the Leeds Circuit, the first regular Missionary Society in the Methodist Connexion was organized.

On the night before we took leave of Mr. Shepstone and his companions at Morley there was much rain, and not long after dark a wolf became very trouble-

some, advancing repeatedly within a short distance of our fire. In consequence of the recent wars in this part of the country, the wild animals had had a more than usual number of human bodies to prey upon, and were supposed by the natives to have become in consequence unusually ferocious and dangerous. After every exertion made by the people to keep off this hungry wolf, he did not leave us until he had bitten off, and carried away, one of the cows' tails. On a subsequent occasion, at a kraal near Morley, a wolf entered a hut, and carried off a fine girl who was sleeping just within the doorway. Her cries speedily brought the men to her help, and the wolf was compelled to abandon his prey. The child's cheek was, however, dreadfully torn by the teeth of the animal, and it was thought that she must be abandoned, according to their custom, as not likely to live. Some one, however, suggested that the Missionary might possibly heal her wounds and save her life. She therefore made her way, or was brought, to Mr. Shepstone, who with great skill sewed up that part of the girl's cheek which had been torn, and in other respects bestowed much attention upon her case. His humanity was rewarded by the satisfaction of seeing her wounds healed without leaving any very unsightly traces in her face, and she grew up on the Station to be a fine healthy woman.

We left Mr. Shepstone at Morley on the 25th of May, and returned to our respective homes. On my arrival at Wesleyville, June 3rd, I had been absent just five weeks, in which time I had travelled six hundred miles, principally on horseback; and for twenty-one nights Mr. Shrewsbury and I slept on the ground, sometimes in the fields, but generally in the native

huts, without undressing, excepting occasionally to change our linen. We were, however, pleased that the objects of our journey had been attained. We had seen Mr. Shepstone placed on his future Mission, and, as will be related further on, we had penetrated as far as the residence of Faku, and obtained an interview with that Chief.

The Morley Mission Station has, like the others, passed through a series of changes both adverse and prosperous. Mr. Shepstone was not long allowed to pursue his great work in peace and quietness. Qeto, called by the English "Cato," a blood-thirsty Chief of the Amazulu nation, had revolted from his tyrannical master Chaka, and, having advanced to the neighbourhood of the Umzimvubu River, commenced a series of attacks on the clans of the Amampondo, who had been so greatly reduced by the predatory incursions of the Amazulu during the previous year, that they had hardly any spirit or power to resist their enemies. Thus he became, with his band of devoted followers, the terror of the country, and committed many atrocities. A party of English traders accompanying Lieutenant Farewell, R.N., and who were travelling through the country to Port Natal,—relying upon some previous acquaintance which Mr. Farewell had had with this freebooter at that place,—proceeded, on the invitation of Qeto, to his kraal, when they were all received with great apparent kindness and hospitality. The locality is beautiful. I have more than once passed through it since the time to which I now refer; but it became the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Messrs Farewell, Walker, and Thackwray, were surrounded at night when asleep, and all barbarously murdered, as well as five of their native attendants; only one or two of their servants

escaping to tell the melancholy story. This treacherous proceeding was doubtless prompted partly by a desire to plunder the wagons, which contained a large amount of articles of trade, such as the natives valued highly. The wagons and the rest of their party having been left at a place some miles distant, after murdering the Englishmen, Qeto's people proceeded to the spot and seized all the property which they found in the wagons, together with thirty draught oxen, twelve horses, and some muskets. After this event the clan became more daring in their attacks on all the surrounding tribes, crossed the Umzimvubu, and at length attacked numerous kraals in the neighbourhood of Morley, burning all the huts, and killing men, women, and children. They penetrated so far as to threaten an attack on Morley; but Mr. Shepstone, having obtained early intelligence of their movements, escaped with his family and people. The Station was not abandoned, however, till the enemy were within a few miles, and until Mr. Shepstone and the people saw several kraals in flames, marking their destructive progress. Hastily packing up their goods in two wagons, the missionary families and the people left Morley towards the end of October, 1829; and most providentially a dense mist or fog concealed their movements from the invading Amazulu, or there is no doubt they would have been attacked on their way. The country between the Umzimvubu and Umtata continued in a state of great confusion, until, by a stratagem, Faku drew the body of Qeto's warriors into a peculiarly difficult part of the country, wherein, when his superior force attacked them, there was no way of escape; and in fact every man of them perished miserably, either by the spears or clubs of the Amam-

pondo, or by jumping from rocky precipices of great height, in the vain hope of escape. Thus did this bloody and murderous tribe bring upon themselves a merited and swift destruction.

Mr. Shepstone and his people, having taken refuge amongst the Abatembu near the Umbashi or Bashee River, remained in a temporary encampment in that neighbourhood; and in April, 1830, I proceeded from Graham's Town for the purpose of seeing him reinstated in his Mission. The pacification of the country favoured the project; and the Morley Station was recommenced on a different site,—on the western banks or heights of the Umtata River, at a place deemed very eligible for the purpose. The Chiefs gladly received Mr. Shepstone back again, and this Mission has continued since that time to be an important centre of usefulness. After Mr. Shepstone had resided there some years, and fully established the Station, he was removed, and was succeeded by the late Rev. S. Palmer, a man of indomitable spirit, who often showed an undaunted courage amidst frequent and great dangers. He was also an indefatigable and successful Missionary; and under his care Morley attained a high degree of material and spiritual prosperity. The sudden death of this zealous labourer, in 1847, was a great loss to our Mission. The progress of this Station was greatly retarded when, after the war of 1851–2, we were obliged to leave it without a European Missionary; but as the Society has once more appointed a Missionary to reside at this place, I trust its former prosperity will in due season be renewed.

The *fifth* Mission established by our Society in Kaffraria was in the country of the Abatembu, under

the great Chief Vossanie, or as he was often called by his people *Ngubincuka*, or “Wolf’s cloak.” My first visit to this Chief was during the journey of observation which I performed in April, 1825. We reached the Chief’s kraal on the 9th of that month, and on the next day we had an interview with him, when, after we had submitted to the usual cross-examination, and afforded a full explanation of the objects contemplated in the establishment of a Mission, Vossanie, in the presence of his Counsellors and Chieftains, promised that if a Missionary came to them, they would receive him kindly, and give him land on which he might form a Station. During these proceedings we had an opportunity of seeing a curious contrivance for smoking, which might be called a Kaffir hooka. By means of a long tube they contrived to draw the smoke from a long wooden pipe filled with burning *dacha*, or wild hemp. The smoke passed into the smoker’s mouth through water kept in a bullock’s horn ; and each person, when engaged in the operation, took as much water into his mouth with the smoke as he could receive, held it there for a while, and then squirted the whole through another long tube into a receptacle formed from the trunk of a tree, and looking very much like a pig trough. It was a most rude and laughable caricature of the costly and gorgeous Indian hooka. In this instance our people assured us that it was smoked in our presence as a charm. It was passed from one to another of the Chief’s group, to protect them from any bewitching influence which we might be disposed to exercise over them !

It was not till April, 1830, that we were enabled to commence this Mission. On my way to re-establish the Morley Station, I paid another visit to Vossanie, ac-

accompanied by Messrs. Shepstone, Boyce, and Haddy, and introduced the latter to him as his future Missionary. The Chief faithfully kept his word, and received Mr. Haddy with evident satisfaction, giving him leave to search the country, and find a place which would suit as the site for the proposed Mission. Mr. Haddy accordingly selected the spot on which was founded the Station called "Clarkebury," in honour of the late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke, the celebrated Commentator, and the warm friend and advocate of Methodist Missions. Clarkebury, thus hopefully commenced, has likewise its own history of Gospel triumphs, and of many dangers and difficulties encountered by the successive Missionaries who have occupied this Station. It is remarkable that the only Europeans employed on our Missions in Kaffraria who have fallen by the hands of native marauders, were connected with Clarkebury. The first was an assistant, (Mr. Rawlins,) who was killed by a horde of Fitcani not far from the Station; and the other was the Rev. J. S. Thomas, who, having been employed for some years amidst manifold dangers on the Clarkebury Station, had only just removed in 1856 to a more fruitful place, where he designed to establish the head-quarters of that Mission, when he fell a victim to a miserable native feud. The cattle kraal being attacked at night, and a report being brought to him of the conflict going on between the marauders and the people of the Station, he rose from his bed, and, while expostulating with them, received a death-wound from the hands of one of the hostile party. This grievous event deprived the Society of the labours of a useful Missionary, and the natives of a religious Teacher who had long previously conquered the difficulties of

the language, and was enabled to address them on all subjects in the most fluent and effective manner. A successor has been sent from England, and the Clarke-bury Mission will be carried on with, I trust, increasing vigour and success.

The *sixth* Mission which we established in Kaffraria was commenced contemporaneously with Clarkebury. It was placed in the country of the Amampondo nation, under the great Chief Faku. I visited this Chief in May, 1829, accompanied by Mr. Shrewsbury. Leaving Mr. Shepstone and his party at the Cwanguba, a remarkable forest on the western side of the Umtata River, Mr. Shrewsbury and I proceeded with a native guide and our own attendants to visit the nearest Amampondo kraals on the coast, and hoped from them to obtain another guide to the residence of Faku. The path was indescribably bad. Our route was parallel to, and within a short distance of, the beach. Besides the obstructions arising from the broken nature of the country, in crossing the valleys which lie between the hills, we were seriously inconvenienced by the length of the grass, which in many parts was standing five and six feet high. In some parts we found it of a very coarse and strong character, and growing as high as eight feet and upwards; so that in riding after each other in the narrow footway, the leading horse and his rider, although only a few paces in advance, were completely hidden from the individual who followed next. The stifling sense of heat and closeness which we experienced while crossing these deep and secluded valleys, with the fatigue occasioned by often ascending and descending the very high hills or mountains that intersected the path, rendered our arrival towards the

evening at the first kraal of the Amampondos a matter of rejoicing.

The kraal belonged to one of Faku's petty Chiefs, and, for a Kaffir, we found him unusually loquacious and communicative. He treated us with kindness; and it was here that, for the first time in my travels in Kaffraria, I was provided at night with a pillow to rest my head upon, while sleeping in the hut. My saddle usually served for this purpose; but on this occasion, before I lay down to rest, a native brought into the hut and placed before me a wooden article, the use of which I could not imagine; on inquiry, however, I found it was intended for my pillow! It consisted of part of a small branch of a tree, so cut off that certain projecting branches formed legs about four or five inches long: these, being set on the ground, supported the main branch, on which the sleeper was to place his head or neck, or whatever he might find most convenient and comfortable for his repose. The supporting branches or legs were sufficiently apart to render the contrivance steady; and the connecting branch or pillow was cut about fourteen inches long. It might have made a rude sort of stool, if the seat had been broader; but it was only about three inches wide, and had been simply chopped flat and smoothed with a hatchet. As a matter of curiosity, I essayed to sleep with my head on this singular contrivance; but, although very much fatigued, I found it hindered my rest, and I was glad to substitute my saddle, which, when properly adjusted, does not make a very uneasy pillow for a weary man. I suspect no one can sleep comfortably with his head on an Amampondo pillow, unless he wears his hair very long, and has it curled up and dressed, like the Amam-

pondos, in the shape of an enormous wig, so thick that it is like the long wool on the fleece of a Lincolnshire sheep, thus forming a pillow of itself.

The next morning the Chief directed his son to proceed with us as our guide to the kraal of Faku. The road was still bad, but more interesting to us, as we had now again entered on an inhabited country, whereas our ride of the previous day had been through a tract wholly destitute of inhabitants. We reached Faku's kraal on the 15th of May, 1829. We found the great Chief sitting under a mimosa tree, surrounded by a considerable company of his people. He then appeared to be a tall good-looking man. His hair was dressed in the peculiar style of the Amampondos. He wore the usual tiger-skin cloak, and seemed to be about forty years of age. He had at that time many wives, and twenty-three living children. Faku received us very civilly, and, after our first introduction, ordered a hut to be prepared for us, and sent us a supply of Indian corn, with sour milk, &c., as food for ourselves and native servants. The country where we resided, in the valley of the Ungazi or Blood River, was highly picturesque and very fertile. It was thickly inhabited; for the recent invasion by the Amazulu, and other Fitcani or marauding tribes, had compelled the Amampondo to concentrate much more than the Kaffirs usually do in times of peace. It was well for them that their country was so productive; for nearly the whole of their cattle had been swept away by the hostile tribes. The invasion of their country during the previous year had been attended by all the horrid circumstances of African warfare; numbers were killed, others mutilated, and not a few women and children

were carried off as captives. Not only had the conquerors taken away most of the cattle, but, what was somewhat extraordinary, they killed all the dogs which they could catch, and actually cooked and ate their flesh. This did not arise from hunger, for they had abundance of cattle for slaughter; but when some of the Amampondos, in those shouting conversations which occasionally take place between parties of the belligerents in native wars, asked the Amazulu why they did not leave them their dogs for the purpose of hunting, seeing they had taken away their cattle, they answered, "We eat the dogs to make us more fierce and powerful in battle." I have no doubt that they had in fact been directed to do this by the great *Igqira*, Priest or doctor, who, according to custom, had prepared them by his charms and other ceremonies for their warlike proceedings.

The following day being Sunday, Faku and his Counsellors, &c., with a number of females, forming a congregation of nearly one hundred persons, came together at our request, and seated themselves on the open space before the door of our hut. I delivered to them a comprehensive discourse, briefly stating the leading facts and truths of Divine revelation. After concluding this address, I said, "This is the news which a Missionary will bring to you. We have frequently heard that you wish for a Missionary to reside among you, and we have come to hear from yourselves whether this is really the case;" therefore, "speak Faku, we wait to hear." Faku said, "The reports you have heard are true. We wish Missionaries to come and live among us; but I cannot give you a proper reply till I have consulted my Counsellors." This was said with

an evident desire that some of his great men who were present should at once speak on the subject, and implicate themselves in the responsibility of inviting Missionaries into the country. Several speeches were now made by the counsellors. The first that spoke said, "Why does Faku talk of assembling his great men? He has no great men, they have all been killed in the wars. It is true that we wish a Missionary to live among us." Another old man said, "The news you have told us to-day" (alluding to the address which I had delivered) "is good; it is sweet; it is like the *imfe*, or sweet cane. Make haste and let a Missionary come. You talk of peace; it is good. We are tired of war, tired of prowling like *amarhamewa*, (wild beasts,) or being hunted like *imnyamakazi*, (game)." A young Chief, in a very animated address, said, among other things, "The news is good, but you tell us lies! No Missionary will come. While you sit at Faku's kraal, you ask him if he will have a Teacher; but though he say, 'Yes,' a Teacher will never come. As soon as you leave us and cross over the hill, you will forget Faku." This speech was ingeniously intended to make us feel that we should stand pledged for the commencement of a Mission. We now replied, "We tell no lies. Missionaries are true men;" and explained that they must not misunderstand us: we had merely come on a journey of inquiry; but we would report their words to our fathers the great teachers, who live beyond the sea; and we would let them know their decision after we received it, whether favourable or otherwise. After other addresses had been delivered, we requested Faku to close the discussion, his Counsellors having all delivered their sentiments freely. He

said, "I am but a child, and can only say what my great men say." We now thanked the Chiefs and Counsellors for their words in the usual manner of closing a formal discussion, and thus ended this interesting meeting.

On the next day we commenced our return by another route, and crossed the battle-field where two hostile clans had within a few days been engaged in deadly conflict. The state of the grass, and the dead bodies of some that had been killed, and which were already partially devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, told of the severe character of the conflict. In the course of the day's ride we saw and spake with the Chiefs of the contending clans, and urged upon both of them the folly and wickedness of such bloody quarrels, recommending them to settle their disputes by words rather than blows, and in cases of great difficulty to refer them to the decision of some more powerful Chief. But, alas! heathen Chiefs and people naturally delight in war and blood, rather than in peace and quietness.

The Missionary Committee having sent a reinforcement of Missionaries, it was resolved at the District Meeting in January, 1830, that the Rev. W. B. Boyce, who had just arrived from England, should commence the new Mission with Faku; and accordingly he accompanied me, when I went up the country to make arrangements for the commencement of the Clarkebury Mission, and the establishment of Morley. Having accomplished all that was requisite, or possible, in regard to these two Missions, Messrs Shepstone and Boyce, and myself, left Morley, and proceeded to Faku's country, that I might introduce Mr. Boyce as the appointed Missionary for the Amampondo nation; and

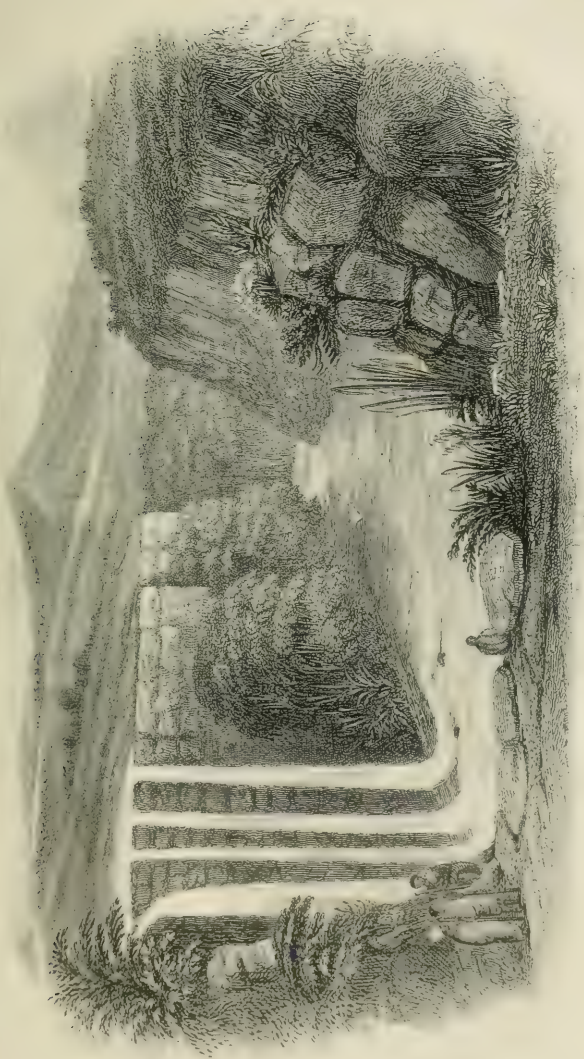
it was also desirable that Mr. Shepstone, living with the adjoining tribe, should have a personal interview with Faku. The Chief received us in the usual manner, and after many preliminaries, at the formal introduction, I remarked to him, "You said last year that I did not intend to bring you a Teacher:"—pointing to Mr. Boyce, I added, "Here is the proof of my truth. Behold him!" Faku replied, that Mr. Boyce must come and settle soon, and he would find a place for him. He was finally informed that Mr. Boyce would return to take up his abode at the end of "three moons." We now turned homewards: leaving Mr. Shepstone and family at Morley, and Mr. Haddy at the Colosa preparing to commence Clarkebury, Mr. Boyce and I once more returned through Kaffraria to Graham's Town, rejoicing in the happy conclusion of our negotiations, and in the prospect of soon having an important Mission among the Amampondo.

From a variety of causes Mr. Boyce was prevented from reaching the country of Faku till November the 22nd, 1830, on which day, in company with Mr. Tainton, he arrived and commenced the Mission. Mr. Tainton had been employed as the Assistant at Mount Coke several years; and was now, with his family, removed to Faku's country, to aid Mr. Boyce in this difficult enterprise. It was resolved to call the new Station "Buntingville," in honour of a name which will never cease to be mentioned with honour, as long as the history of Wesleyan Methodism remains a subject of interesting study in this world. The Rev. Dr. Bunting was pre-eminently a lover of Missions. He was the chief instrument in the formation of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and from his pen proceeded its

"Laws and Regulations," which, having been adopted and sanctioned by "the Conference of the people called Methodists," still continue to form "the Constitution" under which the affairs of the Society are managed.

Buntingville has remained as a Station down to the present time. It is singular that although for many years the most remote from the colony, it has never been destroyed by war; and it is the only Station in Kaffraria among the first six Missions established by us of which this can be said. Although there have been interminable feuds among the tribes in this quarter, yet Faku has always been a steady friend and protector. He has on various critical occasions received from the successive Missionaries great proof of their desire to promote the safety and welfare of his people; and after he had had time to understand the object and see the conduct of the Missionaries, he has ever manifested the greatest confidence in them. The original site of the Station was changed a few years after the commencement of the Mission, the first place not having proved well adapted for cultivation. The land was assigned at first for the Station by the Chief himself. He subsequently acknowledged that he selected it because it was dry ground, and required much rain to render it fruitful; but as at that time he thought the Missionaries were great rain-makers, he expected they would be induced to procure a sufficient supply from the heavens, and of course the whole district would obtain the benefit! However, he readily granted lands at a subsequent period on a more elevated and much more fertile spot, where the Mission now stands, and has become a settlement of considerable population.

Two important Missions have grown out of that estab-





lished at Buntingville. One lies about seventy miles to the northward on the Tsitsa River, a noble stream and tributary of the Umzimvubu. This Mission was established among the people of Ncapaye, called Amabaca, who once occupied a country now included in the Natal Colony, but who had been driven out of it by the Amazulu. They proved at first very fierce and destructive neighbours to Vossanie and Faku; but after a great deal of marauding and fighting carried on for many years, the Missionaries at Morley and Buntingville opened a communication with Ncapaye, that led to the establishment of a Mission, under circumstances of considerable privation and difficulty, by the Rev. W. H. Garner. The Missionaries named it "Shawbury." Various circumstances have combined, under the blessing of God, to render this Station one of the most populous and important in Kaffraria.

Faku eventually removed, with the larger portion of his nation, to his country on the Natal side of the great river Umzimvubu. At his earnest and frequent request I was induced to appeal to our Missionary Society to enable us to establish another Mission in that country. As soon as I received the sanction of the Committee, I requested the Missionaries resident in these parts to select a proper place. Faku being anxiously desirous that this should be done, there was no difficulty in settling the preliminaries; and the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, who had been some time resident at Buntingville, was appointed to remove, and commence this new Mission, in the year 1845. The spot selected for the purpose is in a high degree suitable; and the Station was called by the Missionaries "Palmerton," in honour of the late Rev. S. Palmer, whose valuable services as Deputy

Chairman of the "eastern section" of our extensive missionary district, well deserved this token of respect and regard. There is now a large population resident on this place, among whom the zealous and untiring labours of the Missionary have been crowned with great success. The latest intelligence that has reached us states, that to provide for the wants of the increasing congregation a substantial chapel is about to be erected, "ninety feet long by forty or forty-five feet broad, to accommodate from eight hundred to one thousand hearers;" and it is a pleasing fact, that, in addition to the liberal contributions of the Christianized natives towards the cost of this erection, Faku, who has never embraced Christianity; has given to Mr. Jenkins one hundred head of cattle in aid of this object. When these cattle are sold, the proceeds will prove a princely donation towards the erection of this large place for Christian worship in the centre of the numerous population resident in this remote part of Kaffraria.

During the course of years other Stations were temporarily occupied, chiefly as minor and dependent Missions; but my space will not permit me to enter into any details concerning them. I have only mentioned in this chapter the more important and permanent Missions; but the reader will see that they include eight principal Stations, which are all placed in the very best centres of population in the whole country from the Keiskamma River to near the confines of the Natal Colony. Thus, under the blessing of God, my original plan as to "a chain of Stations" was carried out, while, amidst a great variety of hindrances and dangers, from war and other causes, that must ever be expected to arise amidst barbarous tribes governed by heathen Chiefs, these

Missions have maintained their ground, and are now reaping largely the fruits of a long period of careful cultivation. I am happy to say that since I entered Kaffraria, besides the Wesleyan Missions, there have been important and successful Missions established among the Amaxosa and Abatembu, or *border* tribes of Kaffirs, on the western or colonial side of the great river Kei, by the United Presbyterian Church, the Free Church of Scotland, the Moravian Mission, the London Missionary Society, the Berlin Society, and the Anglican Church. All the Missionaries work together as “fellow labourers” in the common cause. Each Society pursues its own plans of usefulness, but the Missionaries generally display a brotherly feeling towards each other; and I believe they all rejoice in whatever success is gained on any Station, as so much strength added to the common force of Christianity in the country. It is true that in Kaffraria we have not, like our brethren in the Friendly Islands, Fiji, and elsewhere in the Pacific Ocean, been favoured to behold “a nation born in a day.” It would not be difficult to assign some causes which, as men speak, render such rapid success less likely to occur on the African continent than among a people situated as these islanders are; but sufficiently encouraging results have arisen to strengthen faith, and to leave no doubt upon the minds of those best qualified to form an opinion, that the great mass of the Kaffir tribes will, sooner or later, as the result of the persevering labours of Missionaries, be brought to submit themselves to the Divine word of Him who is “first King of righteousness,” and after that “King of peace.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE FITCANI AND THE FINGOES.

DESTRUCTIVE native Wars—Confusion occasioned thereby—Alarm of the Border Kaffirs—Matiwana and the FITCANI—Troops sent to support Hintsá and Vossanie—Fight on the Matiwana Mountains—Consequences of this Affair—The FINGOES—Liberation of Sigliki from Serfdom—His Accounts of the Country whence he came—Dispersion of many Tribes—They all speak the Kaffir Language—Its dialectic Varieties—Part of the Fitcani enter the Bechuana Country—The Epithet FINGOE applied to all the Refugees—Distressed Appearance of a Party of them on their first Arrival—Many settle near Butterworth and other Stations—Kaffir War of 1835—Sir B. D'Urban takes the Fingoes under his Protection—The Exodus of the Fingoes—Their Settlement at Fort Peddie—Missionaries take Charge of them at the Governor's Request—My Visit to the Settlement in 1837—Establish a Mission for their special Benefit—The Plan of forming Fingoe Settlements adopted and extended by successive Governors—Large Number on these Settlements—The steady Progress of Christianity among them—Sir George Grey establishes Industrial Schools at Heald Town—Salem—Many Fingoes are being trained—Hope that some may prove Missionaries to the remote Countries whence their Fathers came—Providential Character these Events—Pleasing Results.

At the time when the British settlers arrived in South Africa, (1820,) a series of native wars occurred among the nations and tribes residing in the country situated to the westward of Delagoa Bay. These conflicts had commenced a few years previously; and at this period the most successful of the Chiefs engaged therein was Chaka, already mentioned as the tyrant Chief of the Amazulu. This despot organized his warriors more completely than is customary among the South African

tribes. Superior organization, maintained and enforced by the most barbaric and sanguinary discipline, rendered them victorious over many surrounding nations. The terror of Chaka's name, and the destructive mode of conducting war adopted by the Amazulu (Zulus), combined to deprive the surrounding tribes of all hope that they could offer any effectual resistance; and in numerous cases they scattered and fled from their country on the approach of the smallest detachment of Chaka's fighting men. The victories of his warriors extended east, west, north, and south, over an area of more than one hundred thousand square miles. Some of the more powerful tribes, when driven out of their own districts, invaded the territories of their neighbours, until at length the whole region from Delagoa Bay to the Griqua country near the Orange River, and from the Barutzee country in the north to that of the Amamponda in the south, was one scene of war and desolation; "blood touched blood;" men, women, and children were unsparingly slain by the conquerors, of whatever tribe; the javelin, the spear, the battle-axe, and the club were wielded on a large scale, with murderous effect. As no one had any certain dwelling-place, the cultivation of the ground was neglected. Some tribes wandered about for years, alternately attacking others, and being attacked by them. Multitudes perished by famine, while, in some cases, small tribes became cannibals, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining the ordinary means of subsistence. There is reason to believe, that during a period of about eighteen years, terminating in 1835, not less than one half of the entire population of the immense region described above, was destroyed by these terrific native

wars; and yet there are persons in England who imagine that, but for European interference, the African continent would be a peaceful and happy portion of the globe!

It was this state of affairs that precipitated a large horde of people upon the Bechuanas nearest to the Griquas, and compelled the latter in self-defence to aid their neighbour tribe in repelling the strange invaders. The Griquas, being a race of Mulattoes, chiefly descended from the Dutch Colonists, possessed fire-arms; and thereby first astonished, and afterwards speedily vanquished, the advancing host, as graphically described in Mr. George Thompson's *Travels in Southern Africa*. It was also from the same causes, that large and powerful hordes, consisting of several tribes which in their mutual distress had banded together, were driven down upon that portion of the Kwahlamba range of mountains which forms the boundary of Kaffraria; and eventually advanced further towards the south, and took up a strong position in a secondary range, which has been since called, from the name of one of the Chiefs of those tribes, the "Matiwana Mountains." From this point they commenced a series of furious attacks upon the Abatembu, under the Chief Vossanie, and penetrated even among the Amaxosa under Hintsä. This occurred in the year 1828, soon after we had established our Missions in the country. Much alarm was produced within the colonial frontier, which was increased by the statements of numerous natives who had taken refuge among the Colonists within their northern boundary. The Abatembu and Amaxosa Chiefs appealed to the colonial authorities to aid them in defending themselves against the invading hordes. They were at this time in

a state of great fear ; for while these tribes were pressing upon them, the Amazulu, coming along the coast districts, were busily engaged in attacking and plundering the Amampondo under Faku. In the imperfect degree of knowledge then possessed by the Government concerning the tribes of the interior, it is not surprising that this simultaneous invasion of two distant points of Kaffraria induced the colonial functionaries to regard them as being under the guidance of one governing mind, and led to the supposition that Chaka was the real motive power of the whole.

After sending an officer to reconnoitre, it was found that the people of Matiwana, Amehlo Makulu, and other Chiefs, were in great force ; and the Colonial Government feared that they would ere long drive the people of Vossanie and Hintsu upon the boundaries of the Colony, which could not fail to disturb the peace of the border, and thereby produce very disastrous results. It was consequently resolved, in compliance with the request of these Chiefs, to send a military force to aid them in driving the strangers from the strong position which they occupied in the mountains, and thus, by dispersing them, destroy their power to do any further serious mischief. Colonel Somerset, the Commandant of Kaffraria, was therefore sent with a body of British and colonial troops, and, after a march from the frontier of more than two hundred miles, in conjunction with a very large force of natives under their own Chiefs, advanced towards the invading tribes in their fastnesses. The Commander of the troops endeavoured to parley with them, and avoid bloodshed ; but they commenced a contest, which, however, speedily taught them the impossibility of resisting with their

spears and javelins disciplined troops, who "carried thunder and lightning on their shoulders." They therefore rapidly dispersed and fled, and the British soldiers soon found themselves compelled by their humanity to protect the people they had conquered from the desperate and ferocious revenge which their native allies, the Abatembu and Amaxosa, were disposed to take upon their lately dreaded adversaries. The greater part of these tribes were now broken up and dispersed; large numbers of them became servants among the Kaffir tribes, while some of them preferred to proceed with the troops into the Colony. The interference of our troops on this occasion has been the subject of much misrepresentation; but the reader will observe that it was dictated by motives both of policy and humanity. It had no aggressive object in view. It was designed to be defensive and conservative of the peace of Kaffraria, no less than to secure the safety of the colonial boundary. The troops marched back to the Colony, after performing this service, without taking away from the natives either ox or cow, or anything whatever: and it was at the time a subject of frequent remark throughout Kaffraria, that the English must be a good nation; for other conquerors would never have left the country without carrying away a large booty in cattle. With a solitary exception, the Missionaries resident in the country at the time and long afterwards, together with the native Chiefs, united in opinion that, but for this interference of the British force, the whole of the Abatembu and most of the Amaxosa tribes would have been conquered, while the seat of war must have been transferred to the districts lying within the Colonial boundaries.

The general name by which the Kaffirs called the invading tribes was *Fitcani*, while the refugees who had for some years been entering the country in small parties of broken bands were called *Fingoes*, or "Amamfengu,"—a designation referring to their abject and forlorn condition, as driven from their country and seeking refuge among strangers. The first individual of these people whom I saw was at Wesleyville in the year 1825. He was brought to me as a man who had been "picked up" while wandering about, but the Kaffir headman had found out that he was occasionally subject to epileptic fits; and I was told by some of our people that he would soon be killed as worse than useless; for their superstitions rendered such a person a very undesirable inmate at one of their kraals. I proposed to take him into my service, which I found would be very agreeable to him: but I now discovered that these Fingoes were regarded by the Kaffirs as a sort of slaves; and hence I had to purchase Sigliki's freedom from his master by the payment of a quantity of buttons and beads to the value of five or six shillings! He thenceforth became my servant, and received the usual rate of wages paid to the Kaffirs. Some other Fingoes afterwards found their way to Wesleyville, and among them a woman, whom I married to Sigliki. His epileptic seizures had evidently arisen chiefly from want of food; for, after he entered my service, he gradually improved in health, and became very useful as the shepherd of my small flock of sheep. This man came under the influence of Christianity, and was introduced to the class of catechumens. He was sometime afterwards baptized, and admitted as a member and communicant of our Church. He continued a hopeful

Christian to the end of his life, and will, I doubt not, be found among the number of the saved in the great day of the Lord. I believe Sigliki was the first of the Fingoe tribes who was baptized by us; but he proved to be the first of a long and steadily increasing succession of converts from Heathenism, amongst this now very numerous and important portion of the native population.

I held many conversations with Sigliki about his country and the surrounding tribes. He used to tell me that it would take a man "three or four moons" to travel from his country to Wesleyville. He had been wandering with various dispersed hordes for several years. It became evident that his tribe had originally occupied some country westward from Delagoa Bay, and not very remote from that place. The great bulk of the Fitcani and the Fingoes speak the Kaffir language, with, however, much variety of dialect and pronunciation. The difference in their pronunciation was chiefly occasioned by interchanging the consonants, more especially the dentals and labials; but although in this manner great varieties were produced, rendering it sometimes rather difficult for the Amaxosa Kaffirs to understand them, yet it soon became evident that their speech was essentially the same, and it was encouraging to be thus satisfied that the Kaffir language with merely dialectic differences is spoken among the tribes as far northward as the Zambese river.

After the battle on the Matiwana Mountains a portion of the Fitcani re-crossed the Kwahlamba and entered the Bechuana country, where they established themselves; and on visiting our Stations in that country a few years afterwards, I met with *Amehlo*

Makulu, or "Great Eyes," whose name had spread terror in Kaffraria some years before, but whom I found to be a young man of an engaging countenance and unusually mild manners for an African Chieftain. The remainder of the Fitcani did not re-cross the Kwahlamba, but gradually dispersed among the border Kaffirs,—chiefly among the people of Vossanie, Hintsa, and Faku. With the change of their position their previous designation as *Fitcani* or "Marauders" merged in the common appellation of "Fingoes," applied to all the refugees of whatever tribe or nation. On my earliest visit to the Chief Hintsa, I saw a bivouac which had been formed of a party of these refugees, including men and women, but very few children,—these having mostly perished in their wanderings. Their condition and appearance reminded me forcibly of the assumed garb and the lying words of the Gibeonites, by which they "beguiled" Joshua. In this case, however, all was real, and no mistake in the matter. They had "come from a very far country." They had "old [skin] garments upon them; some of them had old shoes [sandals] and clouted upon their feet;" and they might have truly said, "These our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey;" and they did say, in the most abject terms and tones, "We are your servants!" They were in effect told by the Chief, "Ye shall be hewers of wood and drawers of water." I saw several families of them who were on this occasion distributed to various Kaffir headmen, with whom they at once proceeded to the kraals where they were to reside.

In this manner a large population of Fingoes gradually gathered around Hintsa and the Mission Station at Butterworth. Mr. Shrewsbury and the

other Missionaries on this and the other Stations to which they also resorted, treated these refugees with kindness; and of course endeavoured to spread amongst them the knowledge of that Gospel which is "glad tidings of great joy unto all people." Confidence in the Missionaries was gradually created in the minds of the Fingoes, and the number of them who were thus coming under missionary influence was steadily increasing, more especially at and near Butterworth; in which neighbourhood they had at length become so numerous, that Hintsa and other Chiefs became jealous of them, and began to treat them most cruelly and oppressively. The affairs of the Fingoes were in this state when the Kaffir war of 1835 broke out. At this time the Rev. John Ayliff was the resident Missionary at Butterworth. Many of the Fingoes rallied around him and the Station, until it was necessary for him and the people of the Mission to flee for safety from Hintsa's country to the Clarkebury Station. On the arrival of the British troops in Hintsa's country under Sir B. D'Urban, the Fingoes who were sufficiently near abandoned their Kaffir masters, and fled to the British camp in large numbers. The Governor now resolved to take them under his protection; and, having sent a party of troops to bring away the Missionaries and various British subjects who had found a temporary refuge at Clarkebury, when the troops were about to retire to the colonial boundary, His Excellency, finding the Fingoes reposed great confidence in the Missionaries, requested Mr. Ayliff and the other brethren to take the whole body of the Fingoes under their special care, saying, "When it became necessary to make war upon Hintsa and his people, finding the people called

Fingoes living among them in a state of the most grievous bondage, and seeing them anxious to be delivered, I at once declared them a free people and subjects of the King of England; and it is now my intention to place them in the country on the east bank of the Great Fish River, in order to protect the bush country from the entrance of the Kaffirs; and also that, by bringing a large population into the Colony, the Colonists may supply themselves with free labourers."

This exodus of the Fingoes from the house of Kaffrarian bondage commenced under the immediate command of Colonel Somerset, on the 9th of May, 1835. They moved along with the troops; and the natives connected with the Mission Stations of Butterworth, Clarkebury, and Morley, under their respective Missionaries, travelled with the column. It must have been a singularly exciting and interesting sight to behold that small body of troops; guarding thousands of captured cattle, and accompanied in their march back to the Colony through an enemy's country by the large number of Fingoes who now made their escape from their Egyptian-like taskmasters. "Some mothers were seen, each carrying two little children, in addition to a burden on their heads, and two or three larger children walking before them; while the men were driving the cattle or goats, with their shields and assagays in their hands, and sometimes a child or tired goat upon their shoulders." The distance to be travelled was more than one hundred miles; but there was no complaining: the loads seemed light, and the journey short, with the prospect of liberty now presented to them. Under the great care of the Commandant, and the judicious arrangement of the Commissariat, with the gracious

protection of Divine Providence, the whole body of the people arrived safely at the appointed place on the 15th of May, 1835: neither a child nor an old person was missing. The number of Fingoes, including women and children, who were thus settled at the river "Nqushwa," called "Clusie" by the English, was afterwards found to be about sixteen thousand souls. A military encampment and afterwards a fort was erected here, for the permanent protection of these people; and the place has long been known as the Fingoe Settlement at Fort Peddie.

In pursuance of the agreement with the Governor, the Rev. John Ayliff and the other Missionaries from the temporarily abandoned Stations took charge of these people, and endeavoured to promote their worldly and spiritual welfare; each of the Missionaries in rotation residing amongst them for this purpose; till at length Mr. Ayliff and the Missionaries returned with the people to their respective Stations beyond the Kei River. On my arrival at Graham's Town from a visit to England in 1837, I visited the Fingoe Settlement, and made arrangements for the commencement of a regular Mission Station on lands granted by the Government for this purpose. An establishment was gradually formed, which we called "D'Urban," in honour of the excellent Governor to whom the Fingoes are so much indebted. At the period when I resolved to establish a Wesleyan Mission here, the Fingoes were widely dispersed over the Colony; consequently those remaining were reduced to less than a fourth of the number originally brought to this place. It was under these circumstances that we formally commenced our very important Mission among the Fingoe tribes, which

has been followed by the most beneficial results on a very extended scale.

Subsequent events on the frontier induced succeeding Governors to carry out the original intentions of Sir B. D'Urban, and greatly to extend his plan; so that there are now several large Fingoe Settlements placed at different points along the old frontier of the Colony, extending, with intervals, over about one hundred miles. In these several Settlements there is at present an aggregate population of nearly forty thousand Fingoes, not reckoning large numbers located in British Kaffraria, and in various parts of the Eastern Province, to all of whom we have free and full access. In addition to the colonial Stations, where many of these people attend our ministrations, we have Stations at D'Urban, Newtondale, Heald Town, Wittebergen, and Kamastone, occupied chiefly, and in some places exclusively, by Fingoes; also Annshaw, inhabited by Amaxosa of Kama's clan; and Lesseyton, by Abatembu; but all on the same frontier line of native Settlements. The principal Stations on this line have also smaller preaching-places, chiefly supplied by native Teachers and Preachers under the direction of the Missionaries. In the Fort Peddie native Settlement alone, more than two thousand Fingoes assemble in our various places of public worship on the Sabbath days; and throughout the above native Settlements, I believe that, including the children in the numerous Sunday Schools, not less than ten thousand attend more or less regularly the Lord's-day services in the various places of worship.

It is along this line of Stations that Sir George Grey has wisely rendered valuable aid in the establishment of

"Industrial Schools" at D'Urban, Heald Town, and Lesseyton, in conjunction with our Mission, and also at Lovedale, (Alice,) with the Free Church Mission. The establishment at Heald Town, now under the efficient management of the Rev. John Ayliff, is the most extensive of these institutions. It is in the centre of a very populous district of Fingoes. The reader may form some idea of the extent and importance of this establishment from the dimensions of the premises erected at great cost from funds supplied by the Governor. The principal building is two hundred and twenty feet in length, and about fifty in width ; there are also two wings extending to the rear, each ninety feet in length. This large structure is very substantial, being built of bricks on a stone foundation, with a roof of excellent timber, covered with slate from Wales. There is a verandah along the whole front of the building, the floor of which in the front rises several feet above the ground. The internal arrangements afford spacious apartments for the "Governor and Chaplain" and his family, with large and airy dormitories, school and work rooms, refectory, kitchens, &c., for the accommodation of the native boys and girls who are boarded, clothed, educated, and trained to various industrial pursuits on this establishment.

The first of these Industrial Schools was established at Salem, and conducted under regulations which, at the request of Sir George Grey, I drew up for the management of these institutions. It was placed under the care of the Rev. B. J. Shaw, whose successful management under very serious difficulties encouraged the Governor to extend this system of training the more promising youth of the various native tribes within and

along the border of the Colony; and there can be no doubt that, should it be steadily sustained, the results will prove highly valuable in promoting civilization among the native tribes, and thereby securing the safety and welfare of the Colony. It has always appeared to me, moreover, that to educate and train to useful and industrious callings many of the Fingoe youth, will eventually furnish a supply of intelligent and well-qualified native Teachers and Preachers, who will ere long be called to go forth as Missionaries to the more distant regions near the Zambesi River, lately described by the indomitable Dr. Livingstone. It is to be remembered, that the wars which scattered the natives now called Fingoes, drove large numbers of their family and tribal connexions into the remote districts in that direction; and as the natives long preserve the traditions connected with their national descent, it is pleasant to anticipate the period when native Missionaries from the border of the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony will take the Gospel to "their brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh," in those more distant portions of South-Eastern Africa, and happily discover that their pedigree will greatly aid in securing them a favourable reception.

It is impossible to review the history of this Mission among the Fingoe-Kaffirs, without recognising therein the guidance of Providence and the rich blessing of Divine grace. The loyalty of the Fingoes to the British Government, sometimes tampered with by the Amaxosa Chiefs, has been maintained and preserved mainly by the influence of these Missions. The Fingoes have also accumulated a vast amount of live stock and other property. The Government is wisely engaged in

granting them individual titles to their lands, which the people already cultivate very extensively, and grow not only sufficient for their own consumption, but annually sell tens of thousands of bushels of wheat and other grain in the colonial markets, and thus contribute to the general welfare. And while it cannot be denied, that there are many of them who retain an almost unmitigated heathenism, and who require the surveillance of an active police and judicious magistracy, yet Christianity has won numerous and remarkable victories among this people. There is already a large and steadily increasing body of genuine Christians among them, who walk in the enjoyment of real religion, and “out of a good conversation show forth the praises of Him who hath called them from darkness into His marvellous light.”

CHAPTER VIII.

LANGUAGE, TRANSLATIONS, AND PRINTING.

MISSIONARIES should Study the Language—Specially Important where the Language of the People has not been previously written—This was the Case in Kaffraria—Early Attempts—Choice of an Alphabet—Clicks in the Kaffir Language—Orthography—The Missionaries pursued their linguistic Inquiries under Difficulties—A wearied Interpreter—First written Productions—No Grammar—A “dead Lock”—The Difficulty elucidated—Rev. W. B. Boyce—His Studies in the Language—His youthful Interpreter—His important Discovery—Its great Value and Utility—“Alliteral” Languages of Africa—Their extensive Prevalence—Practical Result of Mr. Boyce’s Discovery—First Kaffir Grammar printed—The Wesleyan Mission Press—Importance of translating the Scriptures into the Vernacular—First Translations and Printing in the Kaffir Language—Mr. Boyce’s Grammar gave an Impetus to the Translations—The Wesleyan Mission Press in 1837—My Attention to its Concerns—Appointment of Rev. John W. Appleyard as Editor and Manager of the Press—His Qualifications and Diligence—His Work on the Kaffir Language—Testimony of the District Meeting to its Value—Several Missionaries engage in translating the Scriptures—Rev. H. H. Dugmore’s great Services in this Department—The Wesleyan Missionaries have translated and printed the whole Bible in Kaffir—Not a sectarian Translation—Used by Missionaries of various Denominations—The British and Foreign Bible Society—Its munificent Aid—Condensed Statement concerning the Kaffir Version—Growing Desire among the Kaffir-speaking Population to possess the Holy Scriptures.

ONE of the most urgent duties of Missionaries in a heathen country is to acquire the language of the people among whom they are sent to preach the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. I am well aware that when interpreters are to be had, it is not necessary

that a Missionary should wait till he has conquered the difficulties of a foreign tongue, before he attempts to open his commission. There have been many remarkable instances, in Africa, India, and elsewhere, of Missionaries who never acquired the native languages, being rendered under the Divine blessing eminently successful, while prayerfully and diligently using such helps for intercommunication with the heathen natives as circumstances afforded them; but the great advantages arising from being able to speak with fluency the language of the people are too obvious to require formal recapitulation and statement. Every Missionary ought, therefore, to commence learning the language at once; and as soon as he can utter, however imperfectly, a few sentences, he should employ them in conversation with the people. Even should he in these early attempts commit mistakes and blunders, which excite the risible faculties of those to whom he speaks, he must be willing in this respect to be a fool for Christ's sake. Generally, however, the natives are pleased to find a European endeavouring to speak in their tongue; and they will often very considerably and politely correct his mistakes. Hence the very imperfection of his early utterances frequently becomes a discipline by which he learns to correct a bad pronunciation, or the improper application of terms, while at the same time he gradually acquires in these conversations a knowledge of the idiomatic forms of speech, which he could hardly ever learn from books or formal teaching.

These observations apply with tenfold force in the case of the first Missionaries sent to a people whose language has never been reduced to a written form, and

who consequently possess no literature whatever. In such cases nothing can be learned from books ; for there are neither grammars, dictionaries, nor any other kind of writing or printing, that can be consulted as aids to the acquisition of the language. The language must therefore be learned colloquially, or not at all. It will consequently sometimes happen that the first Missionaries in such a country never learn to speak the language with the correctness and fluency which are attained by many of their successors in a subsequent period of the history of the Mission. They are called in this, as in many other respects, "to labour," while more favoured brethren "enter into their labours." Hence there have been instances in the Missions among unlettered and barbarous nations, of Missionaries who devoted much time and laborious attention to the study of the structure of the language under the greatest difficulties and discouragements, who were themselves never able to speak it with fluency and effect ; but their valuable researches and discoveries being put into an available form for the use of their successors, the latter are in general left without excuse, if they do not within a moderate period surmount the difficulties and begin to teach the people in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

When the first Missionaries entered Kaffraria, the language of its people had never been written : there were no hieroglyphical or alphabetical signs in use among them whereby the words of their musical and copious language could be represented. Dr. Vanderkemp, during his brief sojourn in the country, made some remarks on the subject, and also attempted to devise a scheme for writing it. These were published at the time in his Journal, in the Transactions of the London Mis-

sionary Society. The Missionaries at the Chumie, and the Wesleyan Missionaries who occupied another district of the country, were subsequently engaged simultaneously in pursuing independent inquiries into the nature of this language; and at an early period we all concurred in the adoption of the Roman character, as being on the whole the most convenient and suitable form in which we could write and print it. The power or sound given to the vowels was in accordance with the practice of most of the languages of Southern Europe. The consonants represented the same powers as in English, with the exception that *g* was always to be pronounced hard, as in "give;" and *c*, *q*, and *x*, were taken to represent that great peculiarity of the South African dialects which is called "clicks;" while *r*, not being required to denote its usual power in most languages, was used to represent a guttural sound of occasional occurrence, and equivalent to the letter *g*, as pronounced in the Dutch language.

The clicks are peculiar to the Hottentot languages, and have been incorporated at some very remote period with most of the Kaffir and some of the Bechuana dialects spoken by the nations that probably conquered and absorbed certain ancient Hottentot tribes. While these adopted the language of their conquerors, they doubtless retained many words which, being Kaffirized as to their form, gradually became a component part of the Kaffir language. In the existing Hottentot dialects these peculiar sounds are incessantly recurring, and form a prevailing and disagreeable characteristic of their language; but in Kaffir they only occur in a limited number of words, which are not always indispensable, since they have equivalents in which the clicks do not

occur. There are, however, various “click” words that are essential, and in the present state of the language it would be impossible to dispense with the use of them. I have, notwithstanding, long been of opinion that if all translators of the Scriptures, and other writers of Kaffir books, would carefully and invariably reject every click word for which a proper equivalent can be found, many of these words would gradually fall into desuetude. Meantime the number of such words is not so large as materially to disfigure the language when printed, nor to render it harsh or disagreeable as spoken by the natives. On the contrary, in mere colloquial use, the clicks in some cases really add force to the expression, and the words thereby occasionally acquire a power descriptive of the object or action to which they refer. The clicks are three in number: the dental *c*, the palatal *q*, and the lateral *x*. These three have varieties occasioned by coalescing with certain consonants: by this means there are nine or more varieties of these click sounds, which can only be acquired by hearing the natives pronounce them, and by persons who commence learning the language at a comparatively early period of life, while the organs of speech are yet sufficiently flexible.

The alphabet having been decided upon, there remained no great difficulty in fixing the general principles of orthography to be employed in writing the words. When we began to collect words, however, we discovered the existence of some powers, or variations in the consonantal powers, which, as we did not wish to introduce new characters, required in some cases a combination of consonants; and these from time to time occasioned differences of opinion: *ex. gr.*, the word for

“elephant” was spelt three different ways by the Missionaries, *in-ghlovu*, *in-thlovu*, *in-dhlovu*. There were numerous other instances of diversity arising from the same cause; but at length a large meeting of Missionaries of the various denominations then in Kaffraria, after due consideration and discussion, decided on the adoption of a scheme of uniform orthography, which, with few and unimportant exceptions, has continued in use from that time.

The Missionaries severally pursued their respective methods of collecting words, and inquiring into the grammatical structure of the language. It was often at this period an amusing as well as a puzzling occupation, with the aid of unlettered interpreters, to question intelligent but equally unlettered natives, respecting the numerous inflections of the nouns, and peculiarities in the conjugation of the verbs, which we soon noticed as prevailing in the language. They could not of course form the slightest idea of the object and design of our frequent and, as it seemed to them, tiresome and useless inquiries concerning the forms assumed by certain words in particular sentences. “They had always spoken the language in that way. How else could they speak it? They had learned it from their forefathers. He must be a wise man who could say how the language first began to be spoken,” &c. Such were some of their not unnatural replies to many of our remarks and queries, when familiarly discussing these points with them. These inquiries were often pursued with paper and pencil in hand, while sitting under the shade of a tree, or sojourning with them for a night in their smoky huts, and jotting such brief memoranda as the conversation might suggest, by the light of the wood

fire blazing on the hearth in the centre of the earthen floor. Many valuable discoveries among the intricate mazes of this unknown tongue were made on such occasions as these. Sometimes, however, our eager inquiries wearied the natives. A Missionary had on one occasion kept his native interpreter so long at this tedious and irksome employment,—while often repeating some inquiry *why* a sentence should not appear in a particular form, which he deemed more accordant with his notions of the proper grammatical structure,—that the man's patience became exhausted, and he said, "*Maar Mynheer kan het schreven alzo, als Mynheer wil ; want myn rug is al te danig zeer.*" "But Sir can write it so, if Sir likes it better ; for my back is very painful !"

Notwithstanding these difficulties, whether serious or ludicrous, most of the Missionaries urged on their inquiries with as much assiduity as the numerous avocations constantly requiring the attention of men commencing new Missions among barbarous tribes would allow, and considerable progress was made during the first few years in the elucidation of the language. Some short hymns were written to be sung at public worship, also first translations of Catechisms, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and portions of the Liturgy or Common Prayer, and Occasional Services, which we used at our Sunday forenoon worship on the Wesleyan Mission Stations. These early translations conveyed nothing that was false or materially erroneous to the native mind, and they served to advance among the people correct ideas concerning revealed truth, and the proper mode and spirit of worshipping God. We were, nevertheless, painfully sensible that while they were the best helps that the circumstances of the time

could be expected to afford, they were susceptible of much improvement, which an increasing acquaintance with the language would not fail to qualify us for imparting to them. The reader will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that for more than ten years after the commencement of these Missions, no grammar of the language was published. Several of the Missionaries had collected and some had classified materials, and compiled brief grammars for their own use; but all were brought to a dead lock by a peculiarity in the language, of which although the nature, and the great extent of its influence, were to a considerable degree understood, yet no one was enabled satisfactorily to explain the rules by which it was governed. Several theories were propounded which in more than one instance nearly approached the true rule afterwards discovered; but until that discovery was made, the fixed forms for speaking and writing the language with correctness were only partially known.

The Missionaries speedily discovered that in the structure of sentences in the Kaffir language, there was a peculiar contrivance, apparently for the purpose of securing euphony, and which, in addition to the abounding number of vowels, and the invariable recurrence of the penultimate accent on the words, combined to impart that remarkably musical cadence, which any person, even when unacquainted with its meaning, will speedily observe on listening to a good Kaffir speaker. We observed that the principal words in a sentence frequently appeared to fall under a regimen by which their initial consonants were changed, so as to be in unison; and thus an *s*, *z*, *l*, or other letter in the accented syllable of the governing word, by some

apparently arbitrary rule, would assume the ascendancy. Hence the ordinary consonantal sound required to be changed throughout the sentence, and brought into strict uniformity with (if I may so speak) its intoning letter. Perhaps the reader will better understand the matter if he will examine the following specimens, and notice the letters printed in italics.

Isono sam sikulu singabi nakuxolelwa :
Sin my is greater than it may be forgiven.

Zonke izinto ezilungileyo zivela ku-Tixo :
All things which are good proceed from God.

Baza bapendula bonke abantu, bati :
Then answered all the people, and said.

The problem to be solved was,—what was the rule which regulated this extended species of alliteration? Take, for instance, the middle word in the last line of the above specimens, *bonke*. The original form of this adjective pronoun is *onke*, (“all,”) but it changes when connected with nouns in the singular number into *wonke*, *lonke*, *yonke*, *sonke*, *lwonke*, *bonke*, and *konke*. Some of these forms are repeated in the plural number ; but the plural has in addition to those just specified, *nonke*, *zonke*, *kwonke*. Thus there are in all ten variations to which the adjective pronoun *onke* (“all”) is subjected, according to the euphonic letter of the governing word in the sentence. I must not weary the reader’s patience by attempting any further elucidation of the point ; but I could hardly render the formidable character of the difficulty apparent without the explanation already given. The careful inquiries of several Missionaries seemed to unveil the nature and extent of the

problem to be solved; but the key that would fit all the intricate wards of this mysterious lock was wanting.

On the arrival of the Rev. W. B. Boyce at Graham's Town in 1830, he was appointed, as already narrated, to establish the Mission among the Amampondos under Faku. He remained with me some months before he finally settled on his Station. I soon noticed that he possessed a remarkably quick perception, with great aptitude and powers both for analysis and generalization. I therefore in conversation with him frequently entered into long and full details and explanations relative to our existing knowledge of the language, and especially the nature of the difficulty which had hitherto baffled all our efforts. I saw that he became deeply interested in the inquiry; and as he was at that time unmarried and unencumbered with distracting cares, I earnestly exhorted him, as soon as he reached his Station, to "give himself wholly" to this study. Advice addressed to a mind already disposed to act upon it, is seldom unavailing: the numerous and lengthened communications which I soon began to receive from Mr. Boyce, satisfied me that he was applying himself with great zeal and ability to the careful study of the language. In one respect he possessed a great advantage which none of his predecessors enjoyed. The eldest son of the Rev. W. Shepstone had grown up in the country, and had learned the language colloquially from his early days: he could therefore speak it with the fluency of a native. The youth's father being then resident at Morley, an adjacent Station, it was arranged that he should reside at Buntingville, and pursue his reading and general studies under the care and instruction of Mr. Boyce, while the latter

was to derive all the assistance he could from his pupil in the pursuit of his inquiries into the language. Thus Mr. Boyce had the benefit of the assistance of an interpreter who was already more or less acquainted with the general principles of grammar, and was daily increasing his knowledge thereof under the training of his friend and tutor. Availing himself of the extensive knowledge possessed by this youth of the words and idioms of the language, Mr. Boyce commenced a most careful examination on all points that appeared likely to explain the problem which he was determined to solve. Adopting the inductive method, he collected a very large number of words and sentences, just as spoken by the people. The next step was to classify his collection, until gradually the whole was reduced to a certain degree of order: the eye now aided the ear, and a quick instinct perceived in the lists of words and sentences before him, that the whole was governed by fixed and invariable rules. These were soon written down, and afterwards tabulated, showing to any one acquainted with the language the whole scheme at a glance; and thus was the only serious difficulty regarding the structure of this language finally conquered.

The importance of this discovery can hardly be too highly estimated, when it is considered that the euphonic concord, as Mr. Boyce aptly designated it, runs through and regulates almost the entire grammatical structure of the Kaffir language. And it was now ascertained that it is not merely an arrangement for imparting euphony, but that it also secures exactness and precision, so especially desirable in the translation of the Scriptures. The value of this discovery will be further

evident when I state that it is found to exist, and probably exerts the same extensive influence over a whole family of languages and dialects spoken along the eastern side of the African continent, from British Kaffraria in the south to Mombas in the north, and also far into the interior districts. Indeed, traces of the same peculiarity have been noticed by Missionaries in some of the languages of Western Africa. The cognate dialects of the nearer tribes, as, for instance, the Basuto and Bechuana nations, possess the same characteristic; and it is well known that the principle, and to a very large extent the precise rules, of Mr. Boyce's discovery, are applicable to them. There is, indeed, no question but that this is equally true of all that have been called, and may be properly called, the "alliteral languages" of Africa. A careful comparison of the Kaffir, the Sisutu, and the Sechuana languages, although at first sight appearing very distinct, has demonstrated the fact, that the differences in the words now used in these tribes respectively, have arisen chiefly from the interchange of certain consonants, and sometimes, although more rarely, of vowels, in various words which are no longer identical in these several dialects; while the very large number of words that are obviously the same, and which occur with but very slight variety of form in all the dialects, place their common origin beyond all doubt.

Mr. Boyce speedily made great practical use of his discovery, and before the end of 1833 he had completed the first Kaffir Grammar that was ever published. It was also the first important book printed by the Mission press, which I had obtained as a grant from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and which was set up at Graham's Town in 1833. In the lack of regular

printers, it is pleasing to record that two gentlemen, British settlers, who had become acquainted with the practical duties of the printing-office in England, kindly and gratuitously rendered valuable assistance in directing the unpractised hands unavoidably employed at the commencement on our press. This first Kaffir Grammar was consequently printed in a very creditable manner, on good paper, in the quarto size ; and the Rev. W. B. Boyce dedicated the work to me, as the founder of the Wesleyan Mission in South-Eastern Africa, in terms too kind and flattering for me to repeat in this place.

All truly Protestant Missionaries must ever feel anxious that the Holy Scriptures should as soon as practicable be translated into the language of the people among whom they are endeavouring to propagate the Gospel. The pure word of God is the true and imperishable seed from whence alone can be obtained those "fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ to the praise and glory of God." The Missionaries in Kaffraria, like their fellow labourers in other parts of the great field of the world, were fully impressed with the importance of placing the Scriptures, by means of a faithful translation, in the hands of their people. Hence, at a comparatively early period, the Scottish, Wesleyan, and London Society's Missionaries employed themselves in producing translations of detached portions, and even some books, of the sacred volume. These remained chiefly in manuscript, and copies were transcribed by the several Missionaries who wished to use them in their public religious services. The first portions printed were issued by the brethren at Chumie, then called the "Glasgow" Society's Missionaries, from a very small press and limited supply of

type, which they had obtained from Scotland. They also printed a small collection of evangelical hymns, a catechism, and certain detached portions of the word of God, all of which were very serviceable during the infant state of the Mission work in Kaffraria. The Wesleyan Missionaries, not having a press of any kind till a short time afterwards, were glad to avail themselves of the help afforded by the small but useful publications issued from the press at Chumie: meantime, however, various works were prepared in manuscript, and used in our public worship. The first book published in the Kaffir language by the Wesleyans, was in the year 1830, when I engaged a printer at Graham's Town to print a translation which I had previously made of the First Part of the Conference Catechism. This small work was the basis upon which the numerous improved editions of that admirably simple compendium of Christian doctrine and duty were formed. It has been, and still continues to be, very extensively used in leading both children and adults in Kaffraria "to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent."

Previously to the year 1832, I had translated the greater portion of the Book of Genesis, frequently revising it as I proceeded; but as circumstances compelled me to visit England in 1833, and I did not return to South Africa till 1837, this translation was never printed, although the earlier portions of it were often used in manuscript by several of the Missionaries. The earliest translations of entire books of the Holy Scriptures by Wesleyan Missionaries were made by the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, who laboured with great diligence in this department. He translated the General

Epistle of James, and the prophecies of Isaiah and Joel. The whole of the translations and publications already mentioned were made previously to the appearance of Mr. Boyce's Grammar. The publication of this book produced a new era in Kaffir literature. All that had been done before had been effected under great difficulties. The translations and books already extant were in general understood pretty well by the natives; and they were very serviceable in spreading a knowledge of the great facts and truths of revealed religion among them; but we became very sensible of defects and, in some instances, errors, which required to be corrected and supplied; in fact, we regarded these early efforts as being very little more than experimental and tentative. On the publication, however, of this valuable Grammar, greater certainty was attained regarding the structure of the language; and from this period a fresh stimulus was given to the careful study thereof, and the preparation of translations and other books for the instruction of the people.

On my return from England in 1837, I found that my brethren had, amidst great difficulties, worked our press with much diligence; and it had already sent forth several entire books of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, with other useful publications. I found, however, that it was needful to systematize this part of our labours, and to place the press upon a more efficient footing. I therefore devoted much attention to this matter. The affairs of the Mission press became a subject of serious consideration at our Annual District Meetings, and on other occasions, when we decided what works should be translated or compiled, who should be employed upon them, and what manuscripts, after examination

and revision by those appointed to read them, should be printed, with the number of copies and form of publication of each work. These various matters, with the financial questions necessarily arising out of the concerns of the printing establishment, the persons to be employed, the cost of production, the ways and means for meeting the charges, &c., frequently occupied much of my time, and sometimes loaded my mind with care and anxiety. At length I found that I could not carry this burden any longer without detriment to myself and the work in which I was engaged. My frequent absence on long and tedious journeys in visiting the remoter Stations, and other duties, rendered it quite impossible for me to give that attention to this department which its great importance urgently required. At this juncture Divine Providence placed at our disposal an agent every way qualified to meet the wants of the case. The Rev. John W. Appleyard had arrived in South Africa with other Missionaries in 1840. He was placed for a period in charge of such of our Stations as were likely to suit his state of health, which was somewhat delicate. After he was appointed to a Station among the Kaffirs, I soon discovered that whenever such an arrangement could be made, he would be the right man to place in charge of our translating and printing department. At length circumstances favoured the developement of my plan; and at my request the District Meeting consented to place Mr. Appleyard as Editor and manager of our printing-press, first at King William's Town, and subsequently at Mount Coke. This arrangement was confirmed by the Missionary Committee and Methodist Conference in England; and he has now filled this important and responsible office for a series of years.

Mr. Appleyard is the eldest son of a respected Wesleyan Minister, some years since deceased. He was a pupil for six years in the academy for Ministers' sons at Kingswood. On his leaving this establishment he continued to pursue his studies; and after his conversion to God, and call to the Christian Ministry, he was favoured to be a student for three years under the training of the Rev. Dr. Hannah of the Wesleyan Theological Institution. Having made good use of these high advantages, he is well qualified by his learning, no less than by his laborious diligence, for the efficient discharge of the office he now holds with so much credit to himself and benefit to the cause of Christianity in Kaffraria. Mr. Appleyard is the author of an extended and elaborate work on "the Kaffir Language." In this book he gives a "sketch of its history, and a classification of South African dialects, ethnological and geographical," together with an extended Grammar. All who have a taste for inquiries of this nature, and especially all who wish to write on the subject of the African languages, should carefully examine this volume. It is not creditable that in certain comparatively recent publications the writers flounder through their muddy explorations in this field of inquiry, apparently in utter ignorance of the existence of this work, or with a pre-determination to ignore it. The following testimony to the great value of this production of Mr. Appleyard's pen was unanimously adopted and recorded in the Minutes of the Annual District Meeting of the Missionaries in the Albany and Kaffraria District, over which I presided as Chairman in December, 1849.

"Resolved,—That we have seen with great satisfaction the completion and issue of Mr. Appleyard's New Grammar

of the Kaffir Language;—a publication highly creditable to the learning and research of the author, and which must become the standard Grammar of the language. We thus express ourselves without forgetting the high merits of the Rev. W. B. Boyce's Grammar of the language, which was the first publication that supplied the key to the intricacies thereof, by its developement of the principles of what its discoverer appropriately called the 'Euphonic Concord.' We confidently recommend Mr. Appleyard's Grammar as, in the main, a correct and philosophical exhibition of the principles and rules which govern this ancient and interesting African language, so extensively spoken upon the Continent. The manner in which the work has been printed and bound, at our printing-office, cannot fail to reflect credit upon that establishment; and the work itself is calculated to serve the Mission, not only as forming a valuable help to Missionaries studying the language, but also as suggesting useful hints to those on whom the duty and honour devolves of completing translations of the Holy Scriptures into the Kaffir tongue."

Several of the Wesleyan Missionaries best qualified by their knowledge of the language, laboured with much diligence in translating the Scriptures, and writing various useful publications in the Kaffir language. I cannot enter into details by describing the various works of this kind contributed to our growing stock of Kaffir literature by the several brethren; but it would be unfair in this sketch to omit the name of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, who, besides much time bestowed on highly-valued translations of the Book of Psalms, and other portions of Holy Scripture, was likewise the author of several elementary books used in the native schools. He was also the principal writer in a Kaffir periodical, which was regularly issued from our press for some years. His interesting articles, written in good idiomatic Kaffir, on topics suited to the Kaffir mind, and illustrated in their own peculiar manner,

greatly served to stimulate a love for reading among that portion of them who had surmounted the elementary difficulties of learning to read. Mr. Dugmore was a forerunner of Mr. Appleyard; and, besides attending to his ordinary duties as a Missionary, laboured hard in this department before Mr. Appleyard was selected to devote himself wholly to it.

The Wesleyan Missionaries have been honoured of God to produce a translation, and to print the whole Scriptures, comprising the Old and New Testaments, in the Kaffir language. Several portions of this great work have been translated two or three times by as many different individuals, and the latest editions of every part of the Kaffir Scriptures have had the advantage of several careful revisions; while hints and remarks from whatever quarter have received respectful consideration, the only object kept in view being to secure as correct and idiomatic a version as possible. I am happy to say, that some Missionaries of other denominations have occasionally offered valuable suggestions; and although it is not to be expected of any version that all will concur in the approval of every part of it, yet it is gratifying to state that all denominations of Missionaries freely use this translation; and I hope this will be regarded as some evidence that it is not disfigured by sectarian leanings, but that, however defective, it is on the whole a useful and faithful version of the word of the Lord.

It would be an unpardonable omission, were I not to express in this place the profound gratitude of myself and brethren for the valuable aid that we have received from the British and Foreign Bible Society during the period in which this version of the Holy Scriptures has

been under preparation. Liberal grants of printing paper have at several times been made by the Society, on which we might print any complete books of the Scriptures; and some years ago the Society made a munificent grant of one thousand pounds to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in consideration of the expenses incurred in preparing and printing a complete version of the Scriptures in the Kaffir language. The first edition of the entire New Testament was issued from our Mission press in February, 1846; and although the greater part of the Old Testament existed in manuscript, yet for several years a variety of circumstances prevented us from printing anything more than a few detached portions and books thereof. At length Mr. Appleyard undertook to revise some of the existing translations, and to make new translations of various books, which he successively carried through the press, until the whole of the Old Testament was completed and printed; thus fully meeting the implied terms under which the British and Foreign Bible Society granted the above mentioned sum in aid of the work.

The reader will be gratified to peruse the following condensed statement, which has not been previously published in England, concerning this version of the Holy Scriptures, although it includes a reference to some particulars already mentioned.

“The Kaffir version of the Holy Scriptures has just been completed at the Wesleyan Mission press in British Kaffraria. Various portions both of the Old and New Testaments were translated by Missionaries of various denominations in the early years of the Kaffir Mission, some of which were printed. The first complete edition of the New Testament issued from the above press in February, 1846. The second complete edition, considerably revised, was commenced in

March, 1853, and was finished in October of the following year. Soon afterwards, namely, in December, 1854, the first complete edition of the Old Testament, uniform with the preceding second edition of the New Testament, was begun, and on the first of September, 1856, the whole was finished. During the same period, also, and three or four preceding years, several books of Old Testament Scripture were published separately for immediate use. The cost of all this printing, and of the binding connected therewith, has been very great; and, accordingly, some years ago, the British and Foreign Bible Society, having previously assisted the Wesleyan Missionary Society by a grant of £1000 towards defraying the expenses which might be incurred in completing the translation of the entire Kaffir Scriptures, generously supplemented the same by a grant of 400 reams of printing paper, and again, recently, by a grant of £125 to cover the expenses of binding 500 copies of the Old Testament now completed, both of which grants have gone to reduce the price of Scripture for the benefit of purchasers. Altogether about 6000 copies of the Gospels, and 5000 copies of the remaining books of the New Testament, have been printed, at different times, at the Wesleyan press, besides 4500 of the Psalms, and 2000 of the other books of the Old Testament, with the exception of those which have been printed for the first time in the edition just published, which consists of 1000 copies.

“Both the editions of the New Testament, as well as all its previously published separate portions, have been out of print for some time. Another edition being urgently called for, the British and Foreign Bible Society have issued one of 6000 copies at their sole charge in England, under the care of the Rev. W. Shaw, and have recently (1859) dispatched 3000 of them to the Wesleyan printing establishments in British Kaffraria, and to various Auxiliaries in the Cape Colony and Natal. This will render great and timely assistance to the different Kaffir and Fingoe Missions, and reduce the price of that portion of God’s Word to less than half of that at which it has been previously sold.

“All the earlier printed portions of the Old Testament have also been long out of print. Of those which have been printed more recently many are nearly so. Half of the

present edition of the Old Testament just published having been issued in parts as completed, a considerable number of these has been disposed of, whilst the remainder has been still going through the press. In all probability, therefore, this edition will be entirely exhausted in the course of two or three years, and will only continue for that short period in consequence of the necessarily high price at which it has been sold."

The above statement will satisfy the reader, that while our press and its means of throwing off work are on a most limited scale, and it is also unavoidably much occupied in printing other books and papers required by the Mission, it has been actively employed in supplying the Holy Scriptures for the use of the Kaffirs; and it will be seen that there is a steadily growing desire among the Kaffir-speaking population to possess them. This is evinced by their willingness to purchase the hitherto rather costly copies within their reach. Of the edition recently printed and sent from England, a large portion was bespoke before the books reached the country. The Rev. J. W. Appleyard has recently arrived in London; and arrangements have been entered into between the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, whereby he stands engaged to devote his time during his stay in this country to carry through the press a revised and improved edition of the entire Kaffir Bible, which will be printed at the sole cost of the Bible Society, and of course remain at the disposal of its Committee. Surely the set time for the more effectual visitation of the people of Kaffraria with light and Gospel blessing is at hand. Let the devout reader therefore be encouraged to offer believing prayer in the words of the Divine Saviour: "SANCTIFY THEM THROUGH THY TRUTH; THY WORD IS TRUTH."

CHAPTER IX.

BECHUANA COUNTRY—NATAL—SCHOOLS—CONCLUSION.

WESLEYAN Missionaries in the BECHUANA COUNTRY—Missionaries have contributed to elucidate the Geography of Southern Africa—Messrs. Hodgson, Broadbent, and Archbell—Early Difficulties and Dangers—First Wesleyan Mission near the Vaal River—Disturbed by Wars—Migration of the Barolongs, the Newlanders, and Korannas—Settle in the “Lisutu”—Moshesh—Mantatees under Sikonyele—The Baraputse Tribe—These Missions placed under my general Superintendency—My Visitation Tours—Fidelity and Success of the Wesleyan and French Missionaries in the “Lisutu”—NATAL—Early Project of visiting it—Frustrated by providential Affliction—Best Mode of extending Missions on the African Continent—Events at Natal—Commencement of the Mission—Rev. Messrs. Pearse and C. Spensley—Progress—English Colony at Natal—Duty to spread Christianity among the Natives—EDUCATION and SCHOOLS—First Sunday School in Albany—Day Schools—Westminster Training College—Assistance from His Excellency Sir George Grey—Industrial and Day Schools—Native Address to the Queen—Wesleyan Sunday School Union for Albany—School Anniversaries—Religious Character of these Schools—Secular Instruction imparted—Adapted to the Wants of a new Colony—Review of the Mission—SUMMARY OF RESULTS—Conclusion.

HAVING already exceeded the limits I had prescribed to myself, and rendered this volume larger than I had originally intended, I regret that I have not space left to enable me to furnish even a brief view of our missionary proceedings in the Bechuana country, comprising the vast regions lying between the Orange River on the east, and the Khaliharri or Zahara desert

on the west, a large portion of which now forms the territory of the two Dutch Republics known as the Orange River and Vaal River Free States. It has been incidentally mentioned in an earlier part of this volume, that Wesleyan Missionaries crossed the Orange River and entered this country as early as the year 1822. Their first attempt to establish a Mission in the Bechuana country failed, in consequence of the severe sickness of one of the Missionaries, and other circumstances, which compelled them to abandon the project. As soon, however, as the health of the Rev. S. Broadbent was sufficiently re-established, he offered to return to that country; and the late Rev. Thomas L. Hodgson proceeded from Cape Town to accompany him, and take charge of the Mission. These Missionaries, and those who followed them, explored the country along the banks of the Vaal River as far as its northern sources, and thus opened up an immense tract of fine country that had hitherto only been known to Europeans by vague rumours; the route previously pursued by Campbell, Moffat, and others, towards Kurrechane, having been more to the westward. The extent to which the originally blank map of South-Eastern Africa was filled by Wesleyan Missionaries with the names of rivers, mountains, and native tribes, in the north-eastern parts of the Bechuana country, and through the whole of Kaffraria, from the Keiskamma to Port Natal, is not generally known. As we freely communicated the results of our explorations, they soon appeared in maps successively constructed and issued by various persons. None of us published books at the time. We were, indeed, too busily occupied to write any, and were content to go on with our pioneering work quietly. Thus the only pub-

lication in which even a brief account of these early journeys and difficult enterprises stands recorded, is the successive volumes of the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, wherein may be found a great deal of interesting information concerning the state of these regions at that period.

Messrs. Hodgson, Broadbent, and Archbell explored the Bechuana country with a desire to find a Mission field which would enable them to commence their labours where "Christ had not been named;" and thus avoid interfering with the ground more to the westward, in which the London Society's Missionaries, Moffat and Hamilton, were already patiently and zealously pursuing the great objects of their Mission. But at this time the whole country towards the north-east was in a state of war and confusion, arising from the causes mentioned in a previous chapter. Hence, these brethren, with their wives and families, found no resting-place, but were compelled to traverse the country like pilgrims, having for a long period no other home than their wagons, and being continually exposed to many "perils" among the heathen, and from the lions and other wild beasts, which at that time ranged over the country in great numbers. Messrs. Hodgson and Broadbent were, however, at length enabled to commence an important Mission at a large native town called "Makwasse," far up the bank of the Vaal River, with the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas. The Mission and people were soon afterwards driven away and scattered by powerful and warlike tribes, but they rallied again; and for more than twenty-five years this tribe has chiefly resided at Thab'Nehu, where there is now a native town with nearly 10,000 inhabitants, which is probably the

largest assemblage of natives in one spot in any part of Southern Africa. The Missionaries removed with the tribe from the Vaal River, in the year 1833, when the whole country, now called the "Orange River Free State," was almost entirely denuded of inhabitants. A portion of the so-called "bastards" or coloured people, who had occupied a part of the Griqua country, but who are distinguished by the name of "Newlanders," removed at the same time with the Missionaries, and the Barolongs, under their Chief Moroko. A body of Korannas, a race of Hottentots, to whom the Missionaries had preached during their wanderings in the wilderness, and who were now under the care of Mr. Jenkins, also accompanied them. Thus the Stations called respectively Thab'Nchu for the Barolong Bechuanas, Plattberg for the Newlanders, and 'Mpukane for the Korannas, were established in an extensive and fertile country which was at the time vacant; but as Moshesh, the great Chief of the Basuto nation, asserted some rights over the lands thus appropriated, they did not occupy this country without his full consent, given to the Missionaries and the Chiefs. Indeed, Moshesh was glad to receive them; for as the Newlanders and Korannas possessed fire-arms, and knew how to use them with effect, he was well pleased at the prospect of having near neighbours in friendly alliance, who might aid in the general defence from any future attacks of the fierce Kaffir races that had so recently overrun the country. The Missionaries were not long settled in this district before Sikonyele, the Chief of the Mantatees, sent a message to Mr. Jenkins, requesting him to visit that tribe. This Chief and his warriors had recently, in conjunction with others, carried war and

devastation among various Bechuana tribes residing on and near the Vaal River. A Mission at 'Mparane was soon established among these people. Some years afterwards an earnest request from the Chief of the Baraputse tribe, who occupied the country to the north-east of the present Colony of Natal, led to the commencement of a promising Mission among the large native population of that country; but after a time it was destroyed by a native war, in which some Dutch emigrants took part, and the Missionary was compelled to retire into the Natal Colony; being accompanied, however, by a body of native converts, who had gone with him from 'Mparane, and others who had joined them in the Baraputse country.

Soon after the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission in the Bechuana country, it was constituted a part of the District under my care, and its affairs were under my general superintendency for a long series of years. It was consequently my duty on several occasions to visit the Stations in that District, although they were five hundred miles or more distant from my place of residence. On one of these visits, leaving Graham's Town, I called at all the Stations between British Kaffraria and the Orange River, crossed that noble stream, and visited the whole of our Missions in the Bechuana District; then proceeded far to the eastward, and crossed the Kwa-hlamba mountains, at the Dragenberg pass, descended to the Colony of Natal, traversed its entire length, visiting all our Stations in that district; and, turning to the westward, proceeded along the coast country through Kaffraria, to my residence in the Colony, calling at most of the Stations in Kaffraria on my homeward journey. I was accompanied throughout this journey

by the Rev. W. Impey; and although portions of the route had been frequently travelled before by myself and others, yet I believe we were the first Europeans who traversed the whole of this extensive circle. Including various detours which we made in visiting the Stations, we travelled not much less than two thousand miles, on horseback or in an ox wagon. This visitation tour occupied us about four months. From personal knowledge and observation during successive visits to the Bechuana country, I can testify to the zeal and fidelity of the Missionaries; for on these periodical visits I always found evidence of diligent and laborious effort on their part, and the Divine blessing was largely vouchsafed. This has indeed been a Mission most fruitful in the best and highest results. The harvest would no doubt have been much more abundant; but from various causes the labourers have been reduced to an inadequate number, and they are still lamentably few for the extensive work before them. With every drawback, however, it is gratifying to record that the joint labours of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and of the excellent Missionaries of the French Protestant Missionary Society, who are more numerous than the Wesleyan, and who all labour most harmoniously, have been eminently owned and blessed of God in the extensive and populous country known as the "Lisutu."

I must now refer in brief terms to the Wesleyan Mission in the Natal Colony. This also formed a part of the very extensive region which was placed under my care as general Superintendent of the Missions. When we had secured the consent of Faku to establish a Mission among the Amampondo, I immediately projected a Mission for Natal, and the Amazulu, or Zulus.

Horses and some articles of outfit were purchased to enable me to proceed to that country ; but just as I was about to commence the journey, I was seized with a severe attack of illness, during which for some time my life seemed to tremble in the balance. However, God heard the prayers of an affectionate people, and raised me again from the bed of affliction. It was remarkable that before my recovery was complete, a letter reached me from the General Secretaries in London, stating that the Missionary Committee wished me to postpone any attempt to establish a Mission at Natal, since the funds of the Society would not at that time admit of such an increased expenditure as must arise from the proposed new Mission. On the review of these circumstances I see in them cause for gratitude and praise to God. With the more complete knowledge of the country and its affairs which I afterwards acquired, I now believe that if I had proceeded on that journey, I should have perished on the way, either by the hands of the heathen at that time engaged in the fiercest warlike strife, by wild beasts then roaming in large numbers in the country through which I must have travelled, or from want of food and proper native guides in an extensive region recently depopulated by war. Thus I believe that I was laid on the bed of affliction to save my life, and to prevent me from running before I was sent. Much more extensive experience than I then possessed has convinced me that however zealous it may appear, as a missionary proceeding, to make a long stride at once into the remoter regions of heathenism, it is nevertheless a wiser course of action, and far more likely to lead to important results, to commence Missions within convenient reach of some Christian community, and

afterwards push on step by step, as men and means are provided, and opening doors are presented. By this means every new Station successfully established will furnish aid for the extension of the work to the regions immediately beyond; and by a steady progress on this plan, great results may be looked for, under the Divine blessing, in a comparatively short time. The other method has more dash about it, and offers a greater display of dazzling zeal to the eye of the wondering world; but the system now respectfully recommended to the consideration of all concerned will be found best adapted for the extension of Christianity among the heathen, placed in circumstances similar to those of the tribes and nations that occupy the vast continent of Africa.

The design of commencing a Mission in Natalia was only postponed till favourable circumstances should arise. Meantime some Englishmen established themselves as traders at Port Natal; subsequently a large body of Dutch emigrants took possession of the country; and at length a detachment of British troops were sent by the Governor of the Cape Colony, to preserve order in these regions. At my request the Rev. J. Archbell, who was able to preach to the Dutch colonists in their own language, and was otherwise favourably known to them, proceeded with the troops who marched overland to Natal. He speedily succeeded in obtaining both Dutch and English congregations, and also assembling a few of the natives. The war which afterwards broke out between the Dutch farmers and the British troops, placed Mr. Archbell and the English settlers for a time in great peril, and otherwise retarded the progress of the Mission; but as soon as the Home Government took

permanent possession of Natalia, and declared it a British Colony, we immediately reinforced the Mission by sending other Missionaries from Stations in Albany and Kaffraria, where we could make temporary provision for carrying on the work by other agencies. Eventually I appointed the Rev. H. Pearse to take charge of the growing work; and this being approved by the Committee and Conference, he has for some years past been the General Superintendent of the Natal District. His residence is at Pietermaritzberg, the capital town of the Colony, where, aided by the people, he has lately completed a third Wesleyan Methodist chapel, better adapted to the improving circumstances and growing population of this city. The Rev. C. Spensley resided several years at D'Urban, the seaport town of the Colony. His able and earnest ministry was rendered a great blessing; and he also induced the people to erect a third very handsome Wesleyan chapel in this place, transferring the previously erected chapels as school-rooms, and for the use of those natives who worship in the Kaffir language. The joint and zealous efforts of these and other Missionaries have, under the Divine blessing, collected some important and influential English congregations, besides several promising native congregations in various parts of the Natal District. Some time after the establishment of our Mission an emigration from England to that Colony took place, which is likely to result in rendering this very fertile and beautiful country one of the most valuable Colonies belonging to the British crown; and if the European inhabitants understand aright the design of Providence in placing them there, they will aid by all the means in their power the promotion of the mission-

ary plans of the several Societies, both English and American, which have established Missions within and beyond the Colony for the spread of Christianity among the large masses of heathen who live among them and around them. They must endeavour to Christianize and civilize these people, or the latter will prove a sharp thorn in their sides, and punish the neglect, by a wild and disorderly licentiousness which will seriously retard the material and moral interests of this interesting and rising Colony.

I had written a lengthy chapter, detailing our efforts in South-Eastern Africa in the establishment of SCHOOLS and promotion of Christian EDUCATION; but I must condense my statements on this subject into a few paragraphs. Soon after the arrival of the British settlers in Albany, my mind was painfully impressed with the neglected state of the children, for whose instruction, in consequence of the unfavourable circumstances always attending a new Settlement, no provision was made. I soon, however, found it practicable to introduce at least a partial remedy for this great defect. In the year 1820, we established the first Sunday School at Salem in Albany; and I have reason to believe this was also the first School of this description throughout the entire Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. W. H. Matthews, who had taught in the Wesleyan School at Hackney, and Mrs. Shaw, who had been a labourer in the same benevolent work in England, took charge respectively of the male and female branches of this important institution. At an early period I induced Mr. Matthews to establish a Day School at Salem, which ultimately grew into a Boarding School, where many European boys and girls were educated, who now occupy

important and influential positions in the country. Our Day School system has been gradually extended. The Day Schools for the natives are in general under the care of Native Teachers who have been trained in our Schools. They are sufficiently in advance of their fellows to instruct them in reading and writing; but we have long desired to raise the character of these Schools; and latterly, through the kind intervention of the Rev. John Scott, the able and respected Principal of the Wesleyan Training College at Westminster, we have obtained some well qualified Teachers, whose efforts have already produced a visible improvement; and I doubt not but the steady perseverance of the several Missionaries in superintending the labours of the Native Teachers under their pastoral charge will elevate the condition of these Day Schools, and render them more efficient than ever.

The Schools of Industry established by our Mission in various places under the encouragement and with the assistance afforded by Sir George Grey, together with the numerous Day Schools among the natives, partly supported by government grants, cannot fail to produce the best results on coming generations. Southern Africa owes a great debt of gratitude to its present enlightened and benevolent Governor; but while the various communities, European and native, will long feel the beneficent effects of his public measures, perhaps none of them is destined to produce more happy and permanent results than his extended efforts to promote the Christian education of the rising race of all classes and denominations of the people. The colonists in various places have already acknowledged this; and it is gratifying to know that the natives likewise recognise

and gratefully applaud these proofs of an interest in their welfare. When Sir George Grey was likely to be removed from his office as Governor, the Fingoe Kaffirs of one of our congregations addressed a petition to the Queen. The following is a literal translation of this document.

“TO THE GREAT QUEEN VICTORIA.

“O, our great Queen, graciously look upon us!

“We thy subjects, Fingoes residing in Graham’s Town, desire to approach thy feet, and pray before thee.

“For a long time we have sat under thy government, loving thy authority and customs.

“In thy kindness thou didst send Sir George Grey, that he might administer rule over us.

“We saw when he arrived that he was just such a Chief as we black people needed. He manifested his love towards us in many things. He helped us in all things. He gave us ground to live upon, that we might no longer be wanderers and strangers without location. He built us great schools, that our children might enter them, and learn nicely, like the children of English people.

“We rejoiced for all these things. We said, We are a blessed people under our Queen Victoria; we are like children that have a father in all things, to preserve, feed, and help them.

“But to-day we are smitten with sorrow by hearing heavy tidings, that thou our great Queen hast called home our Chief, Sir George Grey. To-day our hearts weep, they are dead because of this. We say, ‘Has our Queen forsaken us or not?’ Having deprived us of our father, we are now orphans indeed! No, our great Queen, don’t throw us away! But hear our prayer and send back our Chief, that he may again come and live with us, and comfort us, by taking away our crying.

“And may the LORD of heaven look upon thee, and bless thee with all the blessings of this earth! and when thou leavest this world, may He give thee a throne in heaven!”

I must not enter into details concerning the progress of our Day and Sunday Schools. From an early period, the Sunday School system, which is specially adapted to the circumstances of an infant Colony, was extended equally with the growth of the Mission. Wherever a Missionary was placed, no sooner had he collected a congregation, than he made it his business also to establish a Sunday School. In this the Missionaries were zealously and efficiently aided by our people, who located themselves in the various towns and settlements of the Eastern Province. The "Wesleyan Sunday School Union for the Albany District" was well supported at Graham's Town; and its Committee always aided new Schools by grants of books and other kinds of assistance, until in each case they were enabled to provide all necessary means of support from their local resources.

It is pleasing to record that these institutions have always been sustained by a never-failing liberality on the part of the British settlers. Wherever it was needed and found practicable, the arrangements invariably included provision for the natives of various races, large numbers of whom, as well as many children of the British settlers, have obtained nearly the whole of their instruction in the art of reading in these Schools. At Graham's Town, there is hardly any event that excites more general attention than the anniversary of our Sunday Schools. Our several Schools assemble together on that day to the number of seven or eight hundred pupils, of all the various tribes and nations resident in the town and neighbourhood. On these occasions, the scholars, with their various superintendents and teachers, crowd the spacious galleries of Commemoration Chapel,

and also require for their accommodation some of the space in the lower part of the building; while the remaining part thereof is usually filled by a large attendance of respectable Europeans, deeply interested in the scene before them. The children sing various hymns, or suitable pieces of sacred music. They are examined on some portions of the Scripture, recite selected sections of the Wesleyan Catechisms, and are questioned thereon. The English, Dutch, and Kaffir languages are used, according to the respective nations of the several classes under examination. Occasionally, a Dutch or Kaffir hymn is sung by the natives, who emulate the harmonious manner in which the English children are trained to sing the praises of the common Saviour. Governors and other high officials have sometimes attended on these occasions, and expressed the greatest satisfaction. Many persons not very friendly to missionary efforts have been constrained to acknowledge, on witnessing these annual gatherings of our Sunday Schools, that they had not previously formed a correct estimate of the great value of these institutions, in training the rising race of all classes to know God, and to love His worship. Similar scenes, on a more limited scale, are always presented at the anniversaries of the Sunday Schools in all the smaller towns and villages throughout the province.

The strictly Christian and religious character of the Sunday School has been ever kept in view. No Methodist Sunday Schools in Southern Africa have been permitted to desecrate the Lord's Day by teaching writing and other branches of secular knowledge during that sacred day; but a large amount of religious information has been imparted in them, by means of the

Wesleyan Conference Catechisms, while in the Bible classes the pupils are carefully instructed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Wherever circumstances would allow, the Ministers and Sunday School Teachers have, however, endeavoured to supply the great lack of the means of general education, by establishing meetings for instruction in writing, arithmetic, and other branches of secular knowledge, which have been held sometimes early in the morning, but more frequently on two or three evenings during the week. Many hundreds of the children of British settlers, and of various classes of the natives, owe nearly all their knowledge of the elementary branches of secular and religious education to these useful institutions. There are persons now to be found occupying highly respectable positions among the farming and commercial classes of the country, who have raised a superstructure of more extended self-cultivation on the comparatively slender foundation of the instruction received in connexion with these Schools; and it is no wonder that they continue to be held in high estimation by the inhabitants in general. No part of my personal history, as a Missionary, affords me on reflection greater gratification, than the share I was permitted to take in the establishment and extension of this system, the beneficial results of which I am persuaded will be felt for generations to come in that part of Southern Africa.

My task is now completed. I have endeavoured to furnish a true and faithful outline of "the story of my Mission," since its commencement in the year 1820. The reader may possibly think it is much too long; but many occurrences, deeply interesting to myself and the

brethren associated with me, have been omitted from this narrative ; for I have not found it easy to condense within the limits of a single volume even a brief account of all our more important proceedings. I must, however, conclude my story by placing in one view a summary of the results of the Wesleyan Mission in South-Eastern Africa. The reader is requested to observe that the subjoined statement does not include the statistics of the Wesleyan Mission in the Cape and *Western* Province ; but a tabular view of the present state of the whole of the Society's Missions in Southern Africa will be found at the end of this volume.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

According to the most recent returns,—which are carefully compiled under the immediate inspection of the several Missionaries assembled in their Annual District-Meetings, held in the Districts of South-Eastern Africa,—the following gratifying RESULTS of the labours of past years are now reported.

Instead of a *solitary Missionary* at Salem, as in 1820, there are now in this extended field *thirty-six Missionaries*, and *ninety-nine paid Agents*, as Catechists and Schoolmasters.

The *unpaid Agents*, as Local Preachers, Sunday School Teachers, &c., have increased from about *twenty* to *six hundred and eighty-eight*.

The number of *members in Society*, or Communicants, which at the commencement of the Mission was *sixty-three*,—all of whom were British born,—has increased to *four thousand eight hundred and twenty-five*,—with *eight hundred and fifty-six* on trial for admission, as fully accredited members,—making a total of *five thou-*

and six hundred and eighty-one adult persons who regularly meet in class, and generally afford satisfactory evidence to their Pastors of "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins." These persons are not exclusively of the British race, but about three-fourths of the entire number belong to various African tribes and nations.

In the first year of this Mission we established *three Sunday Schools*; there are now *eighty Schools* of this description, and *fifty-eight Day Schools*. We commenced our school operations with about *one hundred scholars*; the aggregate number of pupils in attendance on the Day and Sunday Schools, deducting for those who attend both, is at present *seven thousand six hundred and forty-eight*.

We had at first no *chapels*, but worshipped God in the open air, or within rude and temporary structures; there are now *seventy-four substantial chapels*, some of them large and handsome buildings, and all more or less adapted to the circumstances of the people amongst whom they have been erected. The number of "*other preaching-places*," not being chapels, has increased from *ten to one hundred and eighty-three*.

The amount of the *voluntary contributions* of the people towards the support of the Ministry, the Auxiliary Missionary Society, and other religious institutions established among them, has grown from about ten pounds raised during the first year, to an average annual amount of at least *three thousand five hundred pounds sterling*, exclusive of pew-rents, and large sums contributed from time to time towards the cost of erecting chapels and school-houses.

The Gospel is regularly preached within these Dis-

tricts by the Wesleyan Missionaries in *four different languages*; viz., the *English, Dutch, Kaffir, and Sechuana*.

Two printing-presses, one in Kaffraria and the other in the Bechuana country, have been at work for many years, and have printed millions of pages, chiefly written by the Missionaries in the respective languages just named, comprising *Catechisms, Hymn Books, Prayer Books, Selected Portions of Scripture, Spelling and Reading Books, Grammars, and Vocabularies*, with various *periodical and minor works* of an interesting and instructive character; besides *thousands of copies of the New Testament*, and large portions of the *Old Testament Scriptures*, which have been translated, printed, and long since put into circulation among the natives, who have been taught to read either in our own Schools or in those of Missionaries of other denominations.

Thousands of native Africans, who themselves, or their immediate progenitors, at the time our Mission commenced among them, were *clothed in the skins of animals*, and were living in the lowest state of mental, moral, and social degradation, have been *washed, decently clothed*, and in other respects *elevated in the social scale*. In numerous cases the men have abandoned the practice of *polygamy*, while the women have learned to regard the *sanctities of the marriage state*. Those who have embraced the Christian religion under the instruction of our Missionaries have almost without an exception proved *true and loyal* to the British Government in times of war and rebellion. They have likewise *ceased to be robbers*, having been carefully taught the apostolic doctrine, "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the

thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." They are now, indeed, generally *employed* in various *industrial pursuits*, and are enabled collectively to expend large sums of money annually in purchasing numerous articles of *British manufacture*, that add greatly to their personal and domestic comfort, but which in their heathenish state they neither could obtain nor desired to enjoy.

The *population* who have already voluntarily placed themselves under the care of the Wesleyan Missionaries in these districts, who more or less frequently attend their ministrations, and who in general have no other means of religious instruction beyond that provided by this agency, now form an aggregate of more than *forty thousand*, including persons of all the classes and colours that compose the greatly diversified people of this portion of Southern Africa.

Since the Mission commenced, we have *baptized* in the name of the Holy Trinity *thousands of adult heathens*, on their confession of faith in Christ, and likewise great numbers of the *children* of professedly Christian parents. Before our Mission commenced, it very rarely happened that individuals of *different races* or colours met together in the churches of the Cape Colony, at the table of the Lord; but at the monthly celebration of the Lord's Supper in our various chapels, the officiating Ministers are constantly encouraged and delighted by seeing numerous communicants, *white, black, and brown, European and African, mingling around the communion rails*; thus practically showing that in "earnest" Christianity "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."

In the course of years a considerable number of our Church members of various nations have *departed this life in the faith*, and have left their Ministers and friends satisfactory reasons to hope and believe that they are gone to be “for ever with the Lord.” Thus a portion of the harvest has been reaped and safely carried home, and sheaves of the first fruits have been waved before the Lord. But we regard all past success, and the promising appearances of “the fields now white already to the harvest,” chiefly as supplying *incentives and increased means for greatly extending this work of the Lord*. It becomes us to refer to these results without pride or boasting—which must be for ever excluded. I trust, as the agents who have been employed on this Mission, we all desire to indulge an humble, lowly, and contrite spirit on account of our acknowledged errors and shortcomings. Nevertheless, we dare not refuse gratefully to acknowledge that, by the blessing of the Most High, “a little one has already become a thousand, and a small one a strong people.” Surely we may say, “What hath God wrought!” Them “who were afar off” He hath “brought near.” They “who in time past were not a people are now the people of God,” and multitudes that “had not obtained mercy have now obtained mercy.” “BLESSED BE THE LORD GOD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, WHO ONLY DOETH WONDROUS THINGS. AND BLESSED BE HIS GLORIOUS NAME FOR EVER : AND LET THE WHOLE EARTH BE FILLED WITH HIS GLORY. AMEN, AND AMEN !”

APPENDIX.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE WESLEYAN MISSIONS THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA, AT THE CLOSE OF
THE YEAR 1859.

PRINCIPAL DISTRICTS.													
		Number of Chapels.											
		Number of other Preaching Places.											
		Missionaries and Assistant Ditto.											
		Subordinate <i>Paid</i> agents, Catechists and Day School Teachers.											
		<i>Unpaid</i> agents, Sunday School Teachers, and Local Preachers.											
		Number of full and accredited Church Members.											
		On Trial for Membership.											
		Number of Sunday Schools.											
		Number of Day Schools.											
		Total Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sunday and Week Day Schools.											
		Population recognising the Missionaries as their pastors, and in general having no other means of religious instruction.											
I. SOUTH WESTERN AFRICA.		21	15	12	25	195	1,323	219	21	18	2,974	6,500	
1. Cape District and Western Province													
II. SOUTH EASTERN AFRICA.		51	115	26	68	484	3,689	662	60	44	5,062	25,000	
2. Eastern Province and Kaffraria...		8	15	4	9	56	477	129	8	7	1,210	5,500	
3. Bechuana District		15	53	6	22	148	659	65	12	7	1,376	9,200	
4. Natal District													
Totals.....		95	198	48	124	883	6,148	1,075	101	76	10,622	46,200	

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